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Late Roman Pottery from San Giovanni di Ruoti and its Implications

by

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Robert J. Buck

J. W. Hayes

External Examiner

Date ....September 24, 1982........

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to
the Freed family:
Bill and Mary;
Adam, Aaron and Teilya.

Abstract

The excavation of villa structures of three clearly defined late periods from the mid-fourth to the early sixth centuries A.D. on the site of San Giovanni di Ruoti in southern Italy provides an opportunity for the analysis of a number of pottery assemblages.

African Red Slip and Phocaean Red Slip fine wares date the site. Through associations and relative dating provided by the contexts, the study of these wares has yielded improvements to what was previously known about the dating of the forms and fabrics.

The analysis of the contexts of the site also allows a great deal of accurate information to be obtained about the typology and chronology of a previously unpublished painted common ware native to southern Italy, which dominates the late horizons of the site.

In the second half of the fifth century A.D., the importation of African Red Slip dropped markedly. The success of the regional pottery industry indicates that disruption of previous political and economic ties between southern Italy and North Africa directly encouraged the economic autonomy of southern Italy, which evidently maintained its prosperity in the second half of the fifth century A.D.

Preface

This thesis demonstrates the potential of the analysis of pottery from a well-excavated stratified site to increase knowledge about particular wares, about the character of the site itself and about the economic and social history of the particular period.

More specifically, it deals with the imported fine wares and the painted common ware from an inland rural south Italian site, San Giovanni di Ruoti, during the 'late' occupation of the site, and with the economic and sociological implications of the finds in these wares. The late site at San Giovanni has unusual potential archaeologically because it is an undisturbed well-stratified site with a sequence of construction periods, so that the deposition of many of its contexts can be dated to relatively narrow time periods.

The contexts indicate that the life of the late site covers the era from the middle of the fourth to the early sixth century A.D. The fifth century marks the transition from the end of the ancient classical world and the domination of the Roman Empire in Europe and the Mediterranean, to the beginning of the Middle Ages and the political fragmentation of the earlier unified world.

There has been a dearth of excavation and publication of stratified sites in the Mediterranean area in this crucial period. Few fifth-century sites have been purposefully excavated. Apart from fine wares and amphoras, very little material from contemporary sites relevant to the pottery finds at San Giovanni has been published. All of the fine wares from these excavations have been included in the comprehensive studies of J. W. Hayes on late Roman fine wares (see note 8). Published material of this period generally consists of arbitrarily selected pieces from unstratified sites or surface levels, so that their usefulness as comparative material is minimal. When reference to these serves a useful purpose, they will be noted in the text.

In my opinion, only a very few Mediterranean sites of this period have both produced enough stratified pottery and been well enough published to be useful sources of information in and of themselves. Only one of these sites is Italian: Lamboglia's publication of his excavation at Ventimiglia[1] was a model among Italian archaeological publications when it first appeared; but although the excavation uncovered material in its highest levels which can now be seen to be of fourth and fifth century date, Lamboglia's suggested dates for these wares and for his late contexts have proven to be much too low. The modern model publication in Italian archaeology is that of the University of Rome team's excavations of the 'Terme del Nuotatore' at

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[1] Nino Lamboglia, *Gli Scavi di Albintimilium e la cronologia della ceramica romana I*, (Bordighera, 1950).

Ostia.[2] Although the Ostia excavation includes very little material of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., these pieces are made important by the careful method with which they are discussed.

The most important recently published site in the Mediterranean with contexts of the fifth-century A.D. is Conimbriga in Portugal.[3] A number of teams from several countries have excavated fifth-century contexts at Carthage in an international rescue effort co-ordinated by UNESCO. The most comprehensive publication resulting from these excavations at present is the American team's work.[4] Publication of the results of the excavations of the British and Italian teams are awaited. Two very important older excavations which deal with material of this period are those of the Athenian Agora[5] and Antioch.[6]

---

[2] The results of several excavation seasons have been published as a series of volumes of *Studi Miscellanei*. Vol. 13 (1968) = *Ostia I*; 16 (1970) = *Ostia II*; 21 (1973) = *Ostia III*, in two volumes; 23 (1977) = *Ostia IV*.

[3] Pottery relevant to San Giovanni appears in *Fouilles de Conimbriga IV: Les Sigillées*, by Manuela Delgado, Françoise Mayet, and Adilia Moutinho de Alarcão (Paris, 1975), and in *Fouilles de Conimbriga V: La Céramique Commune*, by Jorge de Alarcão (Paris, 1975).

[4] The fifth century pottery has been published by J. W. Hayes, in "Pottery: Stratified Groups" and by J. A. Riley, in "The Carthage System for the Quantification of Pottery", pp. 47-124 and 125-156 in *Excavations at Carthage 1975 Conducted by the University of Michigan I*, ed. J. H. Humphrey, (Tunis, 1976). Some later material is published by Hayes and Riley in "Pottery Report-1976", *Excavations at Carthage 1976 Conducted by the University of Michigan*, (Ann Arbor, 1978), ed. J. H. Humphrey, pp. 47-124. An article by Lucinda Neuru of the English-speaking Canadian team, "Late Roman Pottery: A Fifth-Century Deposit from Carthage" appeared in *Antiquités Africaines* 16 (1980), pp. 195-211; a further paper on the same deposit, "Some Remarks on African Red Slip in the Early Fifth Century at Carthage", was read by her at the conference of the Archaeological Institute of America in New Orleans, December, 1980.

Francesco D'Andria has written a brief summary on late period pottery from a number of south Italian sites.[7] Potentially important Italian sites of the fourth to sixth century which have been or are being excavated, but have not yet been published include the 'Castrum' excavation by an Italian team at Metaponto and the villa sites at Buccino excavated by Stephen Dyson. Material of this date also appears in excavations by Liliana Giardino at Grumento and by Giuliana Tocco at Calle di Tricarico. To date, no villa sites certainly of the fifth century A.D. have been published with any record of artifacts. The stratified contexts of the late site at San Giovanni represent an unparalleled opportunity to analyse pottery horizons of this period in southern Italy, and this analysis is the first major goal of the thesis.

Up to the recent past, studies dealing with Roman pottery of the fourth to sixth centuries A.D. in a systematic way, especially in regard to material relevant to Italy, have been all but nonexistent. This study could not have been carried out at the level of validity which I believe it has had it not been for the work of John Hayes on late Roman fine wares in the Mediterranean area. His major synthesis of past research, correlated with his own systematic observations of material from excavations and museums, has resulted in the laying out of a provisional chronology of the forms of the Roman fine wares produced in North Africa and the eastern Mediterranean from the late first century A.D. to the seventh century A.D.[6]

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[5] The two most important publications are H. S. Robinson, *The Athenian Agora V: Pottery of the Roman Period, Chronology*, (Princeton, 1959), and F. O. Waage, "The American Excavations in the Athenian Agora, First Report: The Roman and Byzantine Pottery", *Hesperia* 2 (1933), pp. 279-328 and pls. VIII-X.

[6] The pottery was published by F. O. Waage in "Hellenistic and Roman Tableware from North Syria" in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes IV, Pt. I: Ceramics and Islamic Coins*, (Princeton, 1948), esp. pp. 43-58 and pls. VII-XI.

[7] The article is entitled "Osservazioni sulle ceramiche in Puglia tra tardo-antico e altomedioevo"; *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* 7 (1977), pp. 75-89.

Hayes has provided archaeologists with a much-needed tool, and one which can potentially revolutionize study of European and Mediterranean sites within the second to seventh centuries A.D. It is now possible to use examples of 'African Red Slip' and 'Phocaean Red Slip' wares as absolute dating criteria for excavation contexts that might previously have been undatable due to a lack of coins or well-understood ceramic material.

Because of Hayes' work, a carefully excavated stratified site will yield information about associations and sequences which can date any new pottery type found and provide checks and revisions on the system of pottery dates which already exists. Dating of the late contexts at San Giovanni is not, therefore, unquestioningly dependent on the present conclusions of Hayes, since the assemblages of the fine wares in the relatively sequenced stratified contexts of the site also implicitly either confirm or call them into question. Evaluation of Hayes' dating of the fine wares is an important subordinate goal of this thesis.[9]

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[6] J. W. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery: A Study of the Fine Wares*, (Oxford, 1972), and *Supplement to Late Roman Pottery*, (London, 1980).

The contexts of the late site at San Giovanni were characterized by an abundance of a painted common ware, which made up as much as fifty percent of the pottery in contexts of the second half of the fifth century A.D. The presence of this ware identifies with certainty layers and contexts of the late site, even in the absence of more specifically datable material. Analysis of this ware in terms of its traits as they appear on the San Giovanni site is the second major goal of the thesis. The painted common ware at San Giovanni has a theoretical and unproven connection to 'broad-line and narrow-line red-painted wares' of medieval contexts in southern Italy. These wares are tentatively dated to the fifth to ninth and the ninth to fourteenth centuries A.D. respectively. To medieval archaeologists, a relative chronology of red-painted pottery is potentially the most promising means of dating the period between c. 500 and c. 1000 A.D.[10] The presence of quantities of painted common ware in contexts of the fifth century A.D. at San Giovanni allows the identification of forms, decoration styles and manufacturing techniques of a specific assemblage which may eventually be seen as the early point in an exceedingly long-lived continuum. The more specific the analysis of the ware at San Giovanni, the more accurate the formulation of theories about its later development can be.

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[9] Hayes himself calls for the publication of carefully excavated stratified sites as the only means to expand the present state of knowledge of the fine wares of his study; Hayes, *Supplement* (1980), p. 479.

[10] This question is discussed in detail in Chapter VI, "Late Roman Painted Common Ware". The importance of the question is best summarized in "Red-Painted and Glazed Pottery in Western Europe from the Eighth to the Twelfth Century", ed. J. G. Hurst, *Medieval Archaeology* 13 (1969), pp. 93-147.

There is general consensus among archaeologists and anthropologists that the study of artifacts from a specific site merely as dating tools or merely to identify the characteristics of the artifact class more closely, without an attempt to interpret artifact finds to characterize the people and the society that used them, misuses and ignores the productive potential of artifact information to achieve the alleged purposes of archaeological research.'' The third major purpose of the thesis is therefore to consider the meaning of the assemblages of the pottery in the various dated contexts in terms of the economy and sociology of the

---

''Very little publication of excavation results in a form which actually represents an attempt at sociological analysis can be pointed to in Italian classical archaeology; recent work which I feel properly answers to this description has been done by Andrea Carandini, beginning with his article "Produzione agricola e produzione ceramica nell'Africa di età imperiale: appunti sull'economia della Zeugitana e della Byzacena", in *Studi Miscellanei* 15 (1969/1970), pp. 97-119. The concluding section in *Ostia III* (1973), pp. 658-696, by Carandini and Clementina Panella, is a model of the use of pottery evidence from excavation for economic interpretation of its period. A number of articles in this vein have also been published in the series *Papers in Italian Archaeology*: Vol. I, in two parts, is edited by H. McK. Blake, T. Potter and D. Whitehouse (British Archaeological Reports, Supplementary Series 41, London, 1978); Vol. II is edited by Graeme Barker and Richard Hodges (BAR, London, 1981).

site and contemporary southern Italy.

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Many people have been personally helpful to me in the writing of this thesis. I would like to thank Professors A. M. Small and R. J. Buck for involving me in the excavation at San Giovanni di Ruoti, and for introducing me to the study of pottery as an academic pursuit. Dr. John Hayes of the Royal Ontario Museum has been a tremendous inspiration and practical help. On visits to the site in 1978, 1979 and 1980, he checked my preliminary identifications of the fine wares and made many useful suggestions. Dott.e Dinu Adamesteanu and Dott.sa Elena Lattanzi, who were successively archaeological superintendents for Basilicata, have each personally encouraged and aided me in my work. Dr. David Whitehouse has also given me helpful advice. Archaeologists and ceramicists whose personal observations and advice have been directly useful to the thesis include Dr. Stephen Dyson, Dr. C. J. Simpson, Dott.sa Liliana Giardino, Dr. Lucinda Neuru, Dott.sa Teresa Giannotta, Dott.sa Mina Andriani, Mlle Claude Roberto and J. J. Rossiter. I would also like to thank Rosemary Aicher, draftsman of the excavation at San Giovanni since 1978, who is responsible for most of the pottery drawings used in this thesis. Ron Senda and Jana Lamont, consultants for SPIRES with Computing Services at the University of Alberta, have given me a great deal of advice and encouragement in the use of the computer. I would also like to thank Dr. M. J. Apps for his work with the analyis of sherds on the 'Slowpoke' nuclear reactor in the Faculty of Pharmacy and Pharmaceutical Sciences at the University of Alberta. Dr. Dorian Smith of the Department of Earth Sciences at the University of Alberta also gave me valuable technical advice. Jessie Hislop read and commented on the thesis, both as a personal friend and as an interested participant in the San Giovanni excavation. My special thanks for his support, expressed in countless practical ways, go to Gerard Lepage. Many other colleagues, friends and family members (they know who they are) have encouraged me by their interest in my work.

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Abbreviations, Correspondences and Symbols

Abbreviations for titles of periodicals and journals follow those used in *L'Année Philologique*. For ancient authors, I follow the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (2nd ed., 1970). Other abbreviations used in the thesis are as follows:

A/D	sigillata chiara A/D, an African Red Slip fabric of the third and fourth centuries A.D., defined by Carandini, and characterized by a somewhat coarse paste and poorly adhering creamy orange slip = SG ARS F2
ARS	African Red Slip wares
B(ii)	Late Roman B(ii), an African Red Slip fabric of the fourth and first quarter of the fifth centuries A.D., defined by Waage, and characterized by a fine paste and soap smooth light red orange slip = SG ARS F3
B(iii)	Late Roman B(iii), an African Red Slip fabric of the fifth century A.D. and later, defined by Waage, and characterized by a coarse paste, dark color and shiny red to orange slip = SG ARS F5, F6
bd	base diameter
BG	Black-glazed wares
C	terra sigillata chiara C, an African Red Slip fabric of the third and fourth centuries A.D., defined by Lamboglia, and characterized by a

	fine light red paste, soap smooth red slip and very thin walls = SG ARS F1
C1	Context 1 = Period I Construction in Zone 3 = P2O
C2	sigillata chiara C2, an African Red Slip fabric of the third and fourth centuries A.D., defined by Carandini, and characterized by a fine light red paste, soap smooth red slip and very thin walls = SG ARS F1
C2	Context 2 = Period I construction in Zone 3 = P1YF
C3*	Context 3* = Period I destruction under Midden I = P1YD
C3	sigillata chiara C3, an African Red Slip fabric of the late fourth and early fifth centuries A.D., defined by Carandini, and characterized by a slightly coarse dark red paste, dark red slip and very thin walls = SG ARS F4
C4	Context 4 = Period II construction in Zone 2 = P2R
C5*	Context 5* = Early occupation of Period II = Lower Midden I = P2MAL
C6*	Context 6* = Late occupation of Period II = Upper Midden I = P2MAT
C7	Context 7 = Period I destruction and Period II occupation = P1D
C8	Context 8 = Period III buildup and floor in

	Zone 3 = P3BFZ3
C9	Context 9 = Period III buildup and floor in Zone 2 = P3BFZ2
C10	Context 10 = Period III occupation in Zone 2 = P3BOZ2
C11	Context 11 = Period III occupation in Zone 3 = P3BOZ3
C12*	Context 12* = Period III occupation = Midden IV = P3MB
C13*	Context 13* = Period III destruction = P3D
C14	Context 14 = Topsoil = TO
COB	Coarse ware bowl with burnished interior
CW	Coarse wares
D	terra sigillata chiara D, a group of African Red Slip fabrics dated from the third to the seventh centuries A.D., defined by Lamboglia, and characterized by a paste rough in comparison to that of terra sigillata chiara C = SG ARS F2, F3, F5, F6
ESB2	Eastern sigillata B2
F1 - F6	San Giovanni Fabrics 1 to 6
GA	Gaza amphora = Palestinian amphora type
HG	Hellenistic grey glazed wares
ITS	Italian terra sigillata wares
md	maximum diameter
MI	Midden I = Early occupation of Period II = P2MA
MII	Midden II = Occupation of Period III in the

	area of Room 42, NS
MIII	Midden III = Occupation of Period III in the area of Room 41, NS
MIV	Midden IV = Period III occupation = P3MB
NS	Not included in stratigraphic analysis of 1980
P1D	Computer code for Context 7
P1YD	Computer code for Context 3*
P1YF	Computer code for Context 2
P2O	Computer code for Context 1
P2R	Computer code for Context 4
P2MAL	Computer code for Context 5*
P2MAT	Computer code for Context 6*
P3BF	Computer code for Contexts 8 and 9
P3BO	Computer code for Contexts 10 and 11
P3D	Computer code for Context 13*
P3MB	Computer code for Context 12*
PCW	Late Roman painted common ware
PCWI	Late Roman painted common ware with incised decoration
PL	Plain wares
PR	Pompeian Red Slip ware
PRS	Phocaean Red Slip ware = Late Roman C ware
RA	Red amphora = spatheion = 'Galla Placidia' amphora
rd	rim diameter
SG	San Giovanni di Ruoti
TO	Computer code for Topsoil

tsc	terra sigillata chiara, a somewhat arbitrary term used by Lamboglia to refer to certain Roman wares, including the African bowls of the second to seventh centuries A.D.
TW	Thin-walled wares
w	weight
ws	wall sherd
Z2	Zone 2
Z3	Zone 3
*	Designates closely dated contexts with a low percentage of residual pieces
*	Designates sherds illustrated in the thesis
/	Before or after the date of a stratigraphic context, designates that the lower or upper limit of the context is sealed

I. The Site and the Pottery Methodology

In the summer of 1977, a team from the Department of Classics at the University of Alberta, headed by Dr. A. M. Small and Dr. R. J. Buck, began the excavation of a site at San Giovanni di Ruoti, a rural site in the province of Potenza in south Italy. As of the summer of 1982, the excavation is in its sixth season: a final excavation season is planned for the summer of 1983.[12]

A. The San Giovanni Site

San Giovanni lies far inland; the minimum distance from the site to the sea is seventy kilometers to the Tyrrhenian as the crow flies, but many more by any feasible land route. It is almost equidistant from the Tyrrhenian, Ionian and Adriatic shores, in a mountainous, rugged and comparatively inaccessible region of southern Italy (see Maps I, II and III).

The site lies at 650 meters elevation on the southern exposure of a long, open and cultivable slope which leads down to the seasonal stream now known as the Fiumara di Avigliano (see Map III). The fiumara drains eventually into the Tyrrhenian Sea by way of the Platano, Tanagro and Sele. Drainage into the Ofanto and the Adriatic and by way of the Basento to the Ionian also originates within a few kilometers of the site.

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[12] Permission to excavate the site and to study its artifacts was granted by the Soprintendenza Archeologica della Basilicata, which was headed by Prof. Dinu Adamesteanu in 1977 and by Dott.ssa Elena Lattanzi from 1978 to 1981. The excavation has been funded in its entirety by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. The *municipio* of Ruoti has offered the team living accomodations, and has occasionally funded extra Italian labor.

High mountain ranges to the north, west and south lie in the way of traffic to the Tyrrhenian; and the Platano itself wends its way through an impassable gorge. In contrast, the rivers draining into the plain along the Ionian shore (the Sini, Agri, Basento and Bradano) provide natural lines of communication southeast to the Ionian Sea, and access to the Apulian plain is relatively open and easy.

According to dates derived from the pottery found in stratified contexts during the excavation, the site at San Giovanni was inhabited during the full extent of the first and second centuries A.D. After being abandoned in the third and first half of the fourth centuries A.D., it was again inhabited from the second half of the fourth to the beginning of the sixth centuries A.D.[13] In this thesis, the earlier occupation sequence indicated by the pottery finds is referred to as the 'early site' and that of the fourth to sixth centuries as the 'late site'.

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[13] Brief general reports on the site by A. M. Small and R. J. Buck have appeared in *Classical News and Views* 22 (1978), pp. 5-8; 23 (1979), pp. 22-25, 24 (1980), pp. 28-30; by Small, Buck and J. Freed, 25 (1981), pp. 33-37.

The Evidence of the Field Survey

The area immediately surrounding the site was rural and characterized by scattered settlement in antiquity as it is today. The evidence of the field survey to date[14] shows twelve other sites dated by pottery to the fourth or fifth century A.D. within a seven kilometer radius from the San Giovanni site. The closest spacing of these sites, which may represent farm-houses or villages (*vici*),[15] is about one kilometer apart, while a spacing of two or more kilometers is typical.

In terms of density of identified sites,[16] sites of the fourth or fifth centuries A.D. within this radius are about as numerous as those of the first century A.D., but only about half as numerous as sites of the second century A.D., which was evidently a period of relative economic prosperity for the area. The field survey indicates that the abandonment of the site at San Giovanni in the third century A.D. may be part of a larger picture, for it has uncovered no certain evidence of third century occupation within the seven kilometer radius of the site.[17] The fourth and fifth centuries experienced a revival of rural settlement, reaching a level roughly comparable to that of the first century A.D.

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[14] The field survey is being carried out under the direction of Mlle Claude Roberto. My remarks here follow "Ricerca topografica della zona intorno a S. Giovanni di Ruoti" by Roberto and S. G. Monckton, to be published in *Lucania Archeologica*, and discussions with Mlle Roberto. They reflect the progress of the survey as of March, 1982.

[15] The pattern of Roman settlement suggests farm-houses rather than villages; C. Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy, Central Power and Local Society*, (London, 1981), p. 98.

[16] The *number* of sites identified by the field survey must of course be regarded as minimum figures.

The Building History of the Site

The building history of the site is quite complicated (see Maps IV and V). The remains of a Roman villa plan of a type familiar in the Republican and early Imperial period take up the western half of the excavated area. This building is the major structure of the early site. In contrast, the late site has three construction periods.[18] In this thesis, the terms 'Period I, Period II, Period III' used without further differentiation always refer to the construction periods of the late site only.

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[17] Four sites have yielded African Red Slip dating to the late second or early third centuries A.D. (Hayes Forms 196 and 27). One of these also has a sherd of Form 50; another has a sherd tentatively identified as Form 42. Very comparable material occurs at San Giovanni. Examples of Hayes Form 50 at San Giovanni are dated to the second half of the fourth century A.D. by Hayes; cf. Chapter IV, "The Late African Red Slip Wares".

[18] The evidence for the different structures and dates of the late site is presented in detail in Chapter II, "Stratigraphic Analysis of the Late Site"; I follow Alastair M. Small, "Gli edifici del periodo tardo-antico a San Giovanni", a paper presented at the Tavola Rotonda on San Giovanni held in Rome, July 4, 1981. Papers of the conference will be published shortly. Excavation in the summer of 1982 has revealed important new evidence for the structural sequence, which I have incorporated in this text on the basis of discussions with Small in September, 1982. An earlier paper by Small, "San Giovanni di Ruoti: Some Problems in the Interpretation of the Structures", p. 91-109 in *Roman Villas in Italy*, ed. Kenneth Painter, British Museum Occasional Paper no. 24 (London, 1980), is now partially outdated by subsequent excavation.

During the first occupation of the late site, around the middle of the fourth century A.D., the villa plan of the early site was rehabilitated on its western side and at least one new outbuilding was constructed in Zone 3. The complex of Rooms 5, 7, 8 and 18 was constructed durng Period I as well; the eastern part of the early villa had to be demolished to make way for the construction of these rooms. Period II begins with the construction contiguous to these rooms in the southwestern part of the site (Zone 1) of a *praetorium* with a western apse. Midden material of the late fourth and first half of the fifth centuries A.D. (Midden I), dates the occupation of Period II from c. 375 A.D. to as late as c. 460 A.D.

Period II occupation may have continued until the construction of the buildings of Period III, which took place at some time around 460 A.D. It seems possible that the construction of the *praetorium* of Period III was meant as a direct replacement for that of Period II; the site of the earlier *praetorium* is a slope which has proved to be very vulnerable to erosion.

The major structure of Period III is a large apsed building (about 32 by 10 meters), and a number of structures are attached to the south and southwest; the foundation of the *praetorium* itself was leveled by cutting into bedrock, and all these very substantial buildings were constructed in mortared stone. The occupation of Period III was continuous to the end of the site, which dates to about 530 A.D., judging by the latest datable pottery.

B. Field Methods and Recording

San Giovanni is the first late Roman villa site in Italy to be excavated and recorded in such a way as to make possible stratigraphic analysis of the site and dating of contexts and horizons by pottery types. The San Giovanni site was recorded on a grid system of two meter squares. Before the beginning of the first excavation season in 1977, a magnetometer survey was carried out by a team headed by Richard Linington of the Fondazione Lerici in Rome.'' Actual excavation was begun in test trenches in the first season and in larger open areas, still recorded by grid squares, in 1978 and 1979. A small limited excavation in 1980 focused on the material underlying the mosaic floor in Room 15. In all seasons, the soil was carefully dug by layers, and all evidence of the excavation was consistently recorded.

In four seasons of excavation, perhaps half of the building area originally indicated by the magnetometer survey was dug. The soil cover over bedrock is not very heavy in the area; in most trenches, natural or bedrock was reached before the close of the excavation season.

''A paper "La prospezione magnetica a San Giovanni" was presented by Linington at the Tavola Rotonda on San Giovanni in Rome on July 4, 1981 and will be published with other papers of that conference.

The field recording system was set up by Dr. Small and revised slightly in each season to incorporate improvements. The recording system has generally answered well to the requirements of the pottery study. In the field, each site supervisor kept an excavation diary, noting the sequence of events, a description of each layer as it was dug and a rough description of the artifacts discovered. A provisional layer record, on which finds were counted and provisionally described, was filled out independently of the sitebook.

All finds were then sent on to the workshop, and from that point I had full responsibility for the pottery finds of the seasons from 1977 to 1980. In the workshop, the pottery was washed and the material from each layer was classified. Pieces from which information could be derived on form, dimensions, technique of manufacture or decoration were separated out. The remaining pieces, mainly wall sherds, were sorted into groups by ware.

A final report form on the pottery in each individual layer was then filled in. On this form, pottery pieces selected for cataloguing were assigned an individual number from a running list and briefly but clearly described. The remaining pottery from the layer was listed by ware and counted under headings of rim, base, wall sherd, handle or lid knob. An estimated total of 50,000 pieces of pottery was processed by this method in the four seasons from 1977 to 1980. No identifiable pottery was discarded. Subsequently, the selected pieces were individually catalogued.

C. Aims, Methods and Limitations of the Pottery Study

This thesis is based only on ceramic material excavated in the seasons from 1977 to 1980 and on the stratigraphic analysis done in 1980 of the areas excavated in those seasons. While excavation of the site is continuing, the stratigraphy and the pottery material of the subsequent seasons have not yet been analysed.

The thesis is also based almost entirely on information derived from catalogued pieces. This approach is necessary because of the fragmentary state of most archaeological pottery material. Any sherd preserves partial evidence at best for the form of the original vessel, while the characteristics of fabric can also be affected by various factors. On the other hand, sherds from an excavation that preserve evidence of form or decoration necessarily also carry the traits of the associated fabric. Such sherds are therefore the ones which repay concentrated study.

Cataloguing

The following information was consistently collected on the catalogued pieces: identification number; grid square (trench designation) and layer; ware; type (either a form number from a published typology of the ware or a description of the vessel's original function); shape (ordinarily rim, wall sherd or base); eight possible measurements including rim diameter and wall thickness; color in break; interior and exterior surface description;

interior and exterior applied or incised decoration; addition of handles, thumb rests, etc., and notation of comparable material on and off-site.

Selected pieces were drawn and photographed in each season. Rosemary Aicher, draftsman for the excavation in 1979, 1980 and 1981, is responsible for the majority of the drawings used in this thesis: a number were drawn by myself. Pieces which are illustrated in the thesis are starred each time they are mentioned. Complete profiles are italicized. The profiles of pieces catalogued in the 1978, 1979 and 1980 seasons were also sketched at 1:1 scale on their individual record sheets after 1977.

This recording system was designed to collect information consistently and to make the maximum amount of information on the site pottery finds available for work in Canada, since it is legally impossible to take Italian finds out of the country. Because of time limitations, the pieces catalogued fell short of the number which were originally selected and labelled with running numbers. All examples of fine wares which had evidence of form were catalogued because of their importance as evidence of date. Even wall sherds of amphoras, which were very rare, were often catalogued, since evidence for the occurence of the type might otherwise not have been included among the catalogued pottery.

Such exhaustive selection of pieces of interest was not possible with the common and coarse wares. To insure that the pieces chosen were in fact representative, I sorted the selected and numbered pieces into form classifications within their ware before a second selection of pieces that would actually be recorded in detail. The number of the originally selected vessels that were in fact catalogued and eventually entered in the computer program is sixty-eight percent of the number which might have been processed under an ideal system, run with no time or energy limits.[20]

The Problem of Ware Definition

In the study of pottery, associations of form and fabric result in a definition of ware. New ware definitions must be general and tentative, because they are necessarily based on a limited sample of the original production of a workshop.

The 'fabric' of a ceramic vessel is determined by four factors which affect the chemical or physical composition of the clay; the composition of the paste, the application of paint or slip, the firing method and the firing temperature.

'Form', on the other hand, is determined by the relationship between the various dimensions of the vessel; the form of a pottery vessel is the concrete representation of an abstract aesthetic idea which the potter imposes on the clay by manipulating its spatial position.

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[20] In 1977, 814 pieces were assigned special piece numbers; in 1978, 1093; in 1979, 872; in 1980, 12 numbers were assigned. Of these 2791 pieces, 1897 were actually recorded in detail and entered in the computer program.

Hayes recognized that variations in form are more diagnostic than variations in fabric.[21] This is true because fabric and form are largely independent entities. The potter has his clay from the fixed physical resources of an individual workshop; his intention in regard to form depends to a great extent on flexible human intelligence and will.

The greatest weakness in the original system of cataloguing was in the description of fabric; grain size, inclusions and degree of hardness were not consistently noted. Of course, their unrecorded observation was implicit in the assignment of the piece to a ware classification. It was necessary to set up a method of retrieving this information in 1980 to achieve a more adequate definition of the fabrics and wares on the site.

In this thesis, the use of the term 'ware' is therefore as correct as possible on the basis of the present evidence. Definition of fabric traits is essential to the definition of ware; on the other hand, the evidence of the range of form and fabric provided by one excavation is too limited to allow comprehensive definitions of ware.

The Problem of Quantification

The present work is based on a selected sample of pottery from the site; that is, the pottery which was selected as diagnostic and catalogued. I believe that the catalogued pieces are representative of all identifiable types of pottery on the site. (A number of cross-tabulations of catalogued pieces appears in Tables I-VIII.)

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[21] Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), p. 15.

Cataloguing of fine wares, of amphoras and of late painted common ware bowls, because of their special importance as dating information for the ware, stands at close to one hundred percent. Cataloguing of the remaining common ware and of coarse wares bears most of the effect of the necessary selection. I estimate that only about one-half to two-thirds of the diagnostic pieces in these wares were catalogued; however, those pieces which were catalogued were selected from classified groups and the range of forms and decoration styles is therefore still justly represented.

Quantification in pottery analysis at present generally relies on counts, whether by sherd or weight, of the complete collection of pottery excavated. The purpose of quantification is to express accurately the relative numerical importance of individual wares or pottery types on a particular site, and to provide the potential of comparison of one site against another.[22] The two approaches I see as most valid are: a count by distinct rims of the original number of specific types of vessels (the methods used in this thesis approximate this goal) and counts of all sherds or the weight of all sherds in distinct wares. Obviously, the second, and more generally used method, does not necessarily make fine distinctions of analysis of type or form.

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[22] The issue is discussed by J. A. Riley in "Quantification of Roman Pottery of the Mediterranean" in *Computer Applications in Archaeology* 4 (1976), pp. 53-57. Riley used quantification in his publication of pottery from Carthage; see note 4 in the preface.

I think sherd counts have a certain validity, and I intend to use them in the final publication of the late pottery; but I do not believe that exhaustive counts would contribute significantly to the goals of this thesis, which are oriented to an understanding of the specific site. Data on the number of catalogued vessels versus the ware sherd counts exist for Midden IV (Context 12*); the pottery in Midden IV was also weighed. Table I shows how these counts compare.[23]

Computerizing the Data

In the original application to the Canada Council for funding for the excavation, Profs. Small and Buck expressed the intention of using a computer system for the processing of the pottery from the excavation. The implementation of this project was left to me. The University of Alberta, like other large universities, has a strong computing services facility, which encourages computer use and new applications by researchers associated with the University. Inquiries by Prof. Small on the sort of system wanted led him to Ron Senda, consultant for SPIRES, the major data management program used by Computing Services at the University of

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[23] Riley has noted that weight counts are intrinsically more accurate than sherd counts, but that in practice sherd and weight counts are generally comparable; *Carthage 1975* (1976), pp. 128 and 131.

Alberta.

SPIRES is an acronym for the Stanford Public Information and Retrieval System. Originally designed for use by libraries, it is word-oriented and used from typewriter-equipped terminals which may or may not have a visual component. SPIRES has many useful features of the standard type available in any good computer sorting system. Once a file is built with elements (category names), under which a certain type of information is stored, indexes are built on those elements, and the information can be retrieved in a variety of combinations and formats. Information on a chosen number of elements in a given data set can be retrieved in neat tabular form. Adaptation of SPIRES for our purposes required writing a definition of the elements relevant to a pottery study. I did the file definition and entered the data myself so as to understand the program better and increase my familiarity with the pottery data.

The computer program allows control over the information on the catalogued pieces which could not possibly have been achieved in any other way.[24] The program allows access to any definable group; for instance, to all the catalogued vessels in one ware, all the bowls with a particular type of decoration, or all the vessels in a particular trench or group of trenches, in an almost infinite number of variations and combinations.

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[24] Even the best designed card filing system could not approach the flexibility and ease of use of a computer sorting system; Anna O. Shepard described an adequate card filing system ~~for~~ for pottery from an excavation in *Ceramics for the Archaeologist*, (Washington, 1956), pp. 322-332. The system required coding, which, even if designed properly, put the information at one remove from the researcher. Any modification required that a new card be made up. Cards with needed information had to be needled out, resulting in physical wear and tear on the information system.

The information in the program can also be edited to incorporate new knowledge. In the system of cataloguing used on the site, each sherd was assigned to a 'ware classification'. The tentativeness of any such working system is one of the realities in the study of ancient pottery; it causes no particular difficulty as long as the record-keeping system allows changes of classification. Computer data management also made it possible to tag each individual vessel with a label indicating its context when the stratigraphic analysis was completed.

Defining the Evidence Relevant to the Late Site

This thesis is specifically restricted to the analysis of the pottery of the late site. When the pottery was originally catalogued and entered into the computer program, all the pottery from the site was catalogued on the same terms without prejudice.

The known late fine wares indicate an approximate date for their particular contexts, and the very distinctive painted common ware immediately was identified as 'late' by its association with late fine wares; but relatively little new knowledge could be gained about the late pottery types without an independent classification of the contexts of the late site based on their stratigraphic relationship to structures.

Once the stratigraphic analysis of the site as excavated by 1980 had been worked out and checked with the datable pottery in the contexts, it became clear that the excavated material did not include sealed stratified pottery of the late site in Zone 1 (west of the CD line) (see Map V); although pottery clearly contemporary with the late site, especially with Periods I and II, occurs in destruction layers and topsoil. Late material in Zone 1 is therefore essentially unstratified, and there is no possible gain in analysing such contexts in detail. On the other hand, all the late fine wares (African Red Slip and Phocaean Red Slip), including unstratified pieces, are discussed in this thesis, so that the complete range of pottery datable by external evidence may be checked.

Of 1897 catalogued vessels from the entire site, 1139 lay in stratified contexts of the late site (including the immediately overlying destruction levels and topsoil in Zones 2 and 3); and 109 more were in two middens, which, while not tied to the stratigraphic analysis, were clearly contemporary with the occupation of Period III judging by their datable fine wares; that is, some 65% of the catalogued pottery of the site was deposited during the late occupation. While about ten percent of this material is residual, superficial material of the late site in Zone 1 has not been included in this count; and it therefore seems that well over half of the catalogued vessels deposited on the site date to the late period. The vessels of the late site are larger and heavier on the average than vessels of the early site, and therefore the total weight of the late period pottery would perhaps be as much as two-thirds that of the total of all pottery material deposited on the site in all periods.

The Problem of Incomplete Excavation

As I mentioned above, this thesis is based only on pottery excavated from 1977 to 1980 and on the stratigraphic analysis done in 1980 of the excavated areas; however, the excavation of the site is continuing and new information is being collected and recorded on pottery and other artifacts and on the structures of the site.

No more than a third of the structures which have subsequently been identified as belonging to Period II and only about two-thirds of the area of the structures of Period III were uncovered as of the end of the 1980 season (see Maps IV and V). Excavation in the seasons of 1981 and 1982 has revealed a great deal more midden material, particularly of Period III in 1981, and has come close to doubling the amount of pottery from the site.

While this thesis does not deal with all the material that has been excavated from the San Giovanni site, the material it treats has yielded all its potential of information. The areas of the site which have been excavated have been destroyed, according to the well-known laws of the archaeological process. No more information can be gathered about them and nothing can undo the stratigraphic evidence which has been derived from them or change the identification or the counts of the pottery in those contexts.

New excavation expands our understanding of the site and can marginally change previous interpretations; but it cannot be said to undo or to devalue the information which was available earlier. For instance, before the excavation of the major structures of Period II, Period II was known from the existence of its occupation midden.

On the other hand, I believe that the analysis of excavation subsequent to 1980 will result in the dating of a phase or phases within Period III. The completed excavation will allow a much greater degree of accuracy in counts of pottery from the occupation of Late Periods I to III, and therefore in estimates of the relative population of the site. When the excavation of the site is completed, quantification and statistical inferences will be much more accurate than they can be in this thesis; but it is very unlikely that my present inferences will be upset, since they are based on clear material evidence and result in a very coherent picture of the vicissitudes of the late site.

The New Face of Pottery Studies of the Late Roman Empire

Hayes' account of the fine wares and forms of the late Roman world marks an extremely significant advance in the understanding of these wares. Working with material from many excavations as well as museum materials, he identified the known forms within the major ware classes and assigned a tentative range of dates and a chronologically ordered number to each form he discussed. Hayes has thus provided archaeologists of the late Roman Empire with a much-needed dating tool.[25]

Even more significantly, his work has the potential to revolutionize the analysis of excavation sites of this period.[26] It is now generally pointless in regard to African Red Slip and Phocaean Red Slip to collect and publish a list of examples of comparable forms from other sites. This traditional aspect of pottery publication implicitly had the intent of establishing the identity, date and distribution of a recognizable form or ware. Since Hayes has established exactly this for the late Roman fine wares, the way the range of fine wares on a specific site fits the broad chronological and geographic context can best be grasped by reference to his work. This does not mean that Hayes can be followed with slavish dependence or that work in regard to the late Roman fine wares is complete. The accuracy of the dating of the forms still leaves much to be desired; but, as I have noted above, improvements to Hayes' system must come from stratigraphic analysis of excavation.

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[25] Only thirty-five years ago, Waage believed that such a guide was the final purpose of pottery study; cf. Waage, *Antioch IV* (1948), p. 4.

[26] Stefano Tortorella's "Ceramica di produzione Africana e rinvenimenti archeologici sottomarini della media e tarda età imperiale: Analisi dei dati e dei contributi reciproci", *MEFR* 93 (1981), pp. 355-380, is an example of the useful kind of work which can be done based on the typology and chronology which Hayes has established.

It also remains to establish a systematic definition of individual wares in late Roman pottery, one which identifies them by fabric and associated forms and decoration, links the defined ware to the geographically precisely known provenance of the workshop which produced it and dates its period of production. Only a general study, however, on the same large scale as Hayes' original study of the forms can provide a definitive guide to the individual wares of late Roman pottery.[27]

The study of pottery from excavation must now concentrate on the internal analysis of the specific site to establish the contributions to knowledge which can come from it alone for the period of its occupation. Given this orientation, when a problem of pottery analysis cannot be adequately answered through analysis of the contexts of its site or by reference to Hayes, it then becomes legitimate and required to marshall published and unpublished comparative material in an attempt to solve it.

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[27] This is not to say that fine wares from individual sites need not be analysed in terms of fabric: Saguì's study of the forms of African Red Slip from Sperlonga by fabric is a helpful step in the direction of establishing the identity of particular wares, cf. Lucia Saguì, "Ceramica africana dalla "Villa di Tiberio" a Sperlonga", *MEFR* 92 (1980), pp. 471-544.

While there is a certain amount of scholarly apparatus in this thesis, it appears only in the interests of the solution of clearly expressed specific problems: most of the gains in knowledge which can be realized from the late San Giovanni site must come from a persistent and searching study of the materials and contexts of the site itself.

II. Stratigraphic Analysis of the Late Site

A major step in the definition of the late site is the correlation of the pottery series with the stratigraphic analysis based on the construction history of the site. In the present chapter the evidence of the dated pottery series is presented first. The stratigraphic analysis, including a list of the dated stratigraphic contexts of the late San Giovanni site, follows.[28] The two lines of evidence have been brought together to define the late site and the late pottery.

A. The Dated Pottery Series

The dated pottery series on the San Giovanni site begins in the fourth century B.C. It breaks off almost immediately, resuming in the late first century B.C. From this point it is more or less continuous to the beginning of the third century A.D. There is no question that material of this date is tied to the occupation of the early Roman villa in the western part of the excavated site.

There is a break in the pottery series from the beginning of the third century A.D. The series resumes with pottery of c. 340 A.D., after an evident gap of at least one hundred years, and proceeds with no necessary discontinuity into the first half of the sixth century A.D. It is the pottery series of c. 340 A.D. and later which was first tentatively defined as the 'late' pottery on the San Giovanni site.

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[28] The stratigraphic analysis summarized in this chapter was worked out by Dr. A. M. Small in the spring and summer of 1980. The dated material in the layers and contexts, particularly the pottery and lamps, provided a cross-check on the interpretation. Small's revisions, based on excavation in the 1981 and 1982 seasons, have also been incorporated into this chapter. The excavations of 1981 are the subject of a brief report by Small, to be published shortly in *Classical News and Views*.

A very distinctive painted common ware appears in all the layers dated by fine wares to the fourth, fifth or sixth century A.D., except in a very few layers dated to the mid fourth. In terms of the ceramic material, it is the appearance of this ware which most frequently and conclusively identifies a layer excavated at San Giovanni as 'late'. Because an understanding of this ware is one of the major contributions the San Giovanni site offers, the delimitation of the late site in terms of area, structures and contexts was set so as not to exclude any evidence for the introduction of this ware.

Many of the forms in this ware undergo no significant change in the various stratigraphic contexts of the late site. The lack of development in the forms suggests a certain degree of cultural uniformity over a period of nearly two hundred years and further justifies the study of the late period as a cultural continuum.

B. The Stratigraphic Analysis

Integration of the evidence of the pottery series with the stratigraphic analysis produces a more complicated picture.

On the basis of excavation results of the 1977 to 1980 seasons, a major early building complex, a typical early imperial Roman villa, was easily distinguished from a much later complex, a large *praetorium* with adjoining structures (see Map V). The early imperial villa was constructed in the third quarter of the first century A.D. and occupied until the early third. The *praetorium* and its related structures were built in the third quarter of the fifth century A.D. and occupied into the first half of the sixth.

The dates assigned to the construction, occupation and destruction of these clearly defined buildings by the stratified pottery evidence do not, however, account for the accumulation of a pottery series of intermediate date stratified over the destruction of the early villa and below the construction of the *praetorium* and related structures. The evidence for the existence of buildings constructed in the intervening period was minimal before the excavation season of 1982, when the *praetorium* of Late Period II was discovered.

Previously, evidence for buildings earlier than Period III included some slight remains of a smaller building predating Room 10 of the *praetorium* of Period III. One wall of this building below Room 10 overlies walls which seem themselves to belong to the late second century A.D. and therefore to be part of a subordinate phase of the early imperial villa. The walls of the small intermediate building have a *terminus post quem* c. 340 A.D., according to a single piece of datable fine ware found among the material associated with the construction of this building. These walls are among the earliest datable structures associated with pottery dating after the resumption of occupation on the site in the fourth century A.D., and therefore are identified as remains of a structure of 'Late Period I'.

Before the 1982 season, a very small amount of comparably dated early fourth century material in the floor of Room 24 in the southern part of Zone 1 suggested that the southwestern area of the early imperial villa was remodelled at the same time. Excavation in 1982 has produced new evidence to confirm this hypothesis. A concentration of Constantinian coins in the immediate vicinity will almost certainly eventually be shown to be stratigraphically related to the construction of Late Period I.[29]

Other traces of walls which evidently represent a new placement of the eastern walls of the remodelled villa appear under the later construction of Room 2. Material below floor level here is of the same mid-fourth century date. In all, three areas of the site reveal scattered traces of structures which are certainly identified as belonging to Period I.

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[29] See Chapter III, "The Evidence of The Small Finds", C0150, C0152, C0154, p.48.

Excavation in the areas of Rooms 5, 7, 8 and 18 in 1981 established that this complex of rooms was originally erected before the last quarter of the fourth century A.D. As structural evidence indicates that these rooms predate the *praetorium* of Late Period II, these rooms also belong to Late Period I.

The *praetorium* of Period II was constructed in the southwestern part of Zone 1. This major structure of Late Period II was built contiguous to Rooms 5, 7, 8 and 18, which were retained as part of the late fourth-century plan. Another structure of Late Period II appears on approximately the same orientation in the southern part of Zone 3. In comparison with the scattered remains of Period I, there are coherent plans for the structures of both Periods II and III.

The latest structures on the site are those of Late Period III. The *praetorium* in Zone 3 and its adjoining Rooms 2 and 3 in the north of Zone 2 were early identified as buildings of Period III. Excavation in the summer of 1981 showed that the structures of Period III are more extensive than was previously supposed, as an unexpected complex of rooms to the south of the apsed building was unearthed. While the *praetorium* of Period III was evidently built as a replacement for that of Period II, much of the Period II complex survived and was adapted to new uses in Period III. Room 5 was remodelled and made internally round. Room 7 was unroofed and used as a dump (Midden IV) and Room 8 became an animal pen; only Room 18 was destroyed. Seen as a unit, the structures of Period III form a slightly larger and more impressive complex than those of Period II.

Stratified pottery indicates a date c. 460 A.D. for the construction of the whole complex of Period III. The pottery evidence suggests that the remodelling of Room 5 took place at a later date within Period III. At some point within Period III the apsed building was also remodelled to install a mosaic floor in Room 15, but although the area under the floor was excavated in 1980, no pottery material was found to date it closely.[30]

Late Period III ends with the destruction of the *praetorium* by fire. The end of Period III can be dated to c. 530 A.D., the date of the latest piece of datable pottery on the site.[31]

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[30] The stratigraphic analysis of structures and contexts of Period III directly south of the *praetorium* of Period III in Zone 3 excavated in the summer of 1981 may possibly reveal phases within Period III which can be correlated with the installation of the mosaic floor.

[31] The excavators have suggested that the destruction by fire of the apsed building of Period III may have occured as an early event in the Gothic Wars, which began in 535 A.D. See Alastair M. Small, "Gli edifici del periodo tardo-antico a San Giovanni", a paper presented at the Tavola Rotonda on San Giovanni held in Rome, July 4, 1981. Papers of the conference will be published shortly.

C. Occupation Material of the Late Site

Destruction rubble from the Late Period I walls immediately to the north of the complex of Rooms 5, 7, 8 and 18 was subsequently sealed by the accumulation of midden material of Late Period II. This midden ('Midden I') is a large and stratigraphically intact deposit of pottery of the mid-fourth to the mid-fifth century A.D. Midden I is divided into upper and lower strata by a thin layer of lime. The ceramic material below the lime layer has a *terminus ante quem* of c. 425 A.D. An identical range of fine ware types of the same date accumulates above the lime layer, which logically rules out a break in occupation at this point. The *latest* pottery in the layers of the upper stratum dates to c. 460 A.D.

Midden I was laid down before the construction above it of Rooms 2 and 3, the two northern rooms of the range of outbuildings adjoined to the west of the apsed building. The latest dated material in the upper stratum of Midden I is of the same period as the latest datable pottery in the floor layers of Rooms 2 and 3 and in layers associated with the construction of the *praetorium* of Period III. This fact shows that the greater part of the complex of buildings of Period III is almost exactly contemporary.

As I have noted, material in Zone 2 which forms the floor layers of Period III in Rooms 2 and 3 forms the uppermost stratum of a long, undisturbed stratigraphic sequence, made up of destruction material from Late Period I and two levels of occupation material of Period II (Lower and Upper Midden I). In the area of the *praetorium* of Period III, however, the bulk of the material included in the construction layers dates from the early imperial period, and material from the fourth to mid-fifth centuries A.D. forms a fairly small percentage of finds in the context. This is because the area under the building was leveled and cleared before its construction, uncovering material contemporary with the early site, while Rooms 2 and 3, which lie down slope in relation to the natural contours of the site, were built *above* the midden of the preceding Period II.

Midden IV, which collected in Room 7 and the area of Room 7, represents by far the greatest concentration of occupation material of Period III which was uncovered in the excavation seasons from 1977 to 1980. Material in Midden IV is dated to some point within the period from the second half of the fifth century to the early sixth century A.D.

The datable material in the destruction layers of Period III suggests that the site remained in continuous use until about 530 A.D. As the material in topsoil is nowhere later, this date marks the end of the occupation of the site.

D. Stratigraphic Contexts of the Late Site

The original construction and occupation of the early imperial villa is not relevant to the present study. Although the plan of the villa of the early site was remodelled and reused in Late Period I, almost no stratified evidence of late occupation was uncovered in the area of Zone 1 excavated from 1977 to 1980.

The area considered relevant to the late period for the purposes of this thesis has therefore been delimited to the grid east of the CD line (see Map V). This does not involve the loss of any significant stratified material of the late period from the excavation seasons of 1977 to 1980. All the layers and therefore all the pottery excavated within this area can be grouped in contexts stratigraphically related to buildings of the late site, except for isolated *sondages* and topsoil.

Material in test trenches includes two late middens in the areas of Room 41 (Midden III) and Room 42 (Midden II), which could not be related to the stratigraphic analysis of the area excavated from 1977 to 1980; the characteristics of these middens are described below.

The remaining material fell into fourteen stratigraphic classifications, of which five are particularly important because they contain a large amount of pottery dated within a limited period of time. Residual pieces form five percent or less of catalogued pieces in these contexts. Topsoil finds from within the delimited area have been grouped as a context. They are relevant to the study as they form a check on conclusions about the latest occupation of the site.

The date of each context is determined by the range of dated pottery in the context and the stratigraphic relationship of each context to the others; it is therefore the *deposition* date of the material in the context. Stratigraphic '*termini post vel ante quem*' are indicated by a slash.

Of the five dates (c. 340, c. 375, c. 425, c. 460 and c. 530 A.D.) which result from this analysis, two, c. 375 and c. 425 A.D., are fixed within a very narrow range. The number of factors taken into account suggests that the actual point in time which they represent falls within 375 to 385 A.D. and 420 to 430 A.D. respectively. For 340 and 460 A.D., the real date falls within the year cited plus or minus ten years. The suggested end date for the site of 530 A.D. is a *terminus post quem*. It is less secure, because it is partially based on a lack of information; that is, the combined evidence of stratigraphy and datable pottery provides no basis for a later date, but militates against a significantly earlier one. A date at some point in the second quarter of the sixth century A.D. is very likely on the basis of the present evidence.

In the following summary the five most important contexts have been starred. The context number is followed by the deposition date, the computer code and the total number of catalogued vessels, the number of catalogued pieces of African Red Slip later than the second century A.D., of Phocaean Red Slip and of the late painted common ware.[32] The stratigraphic description and dated pottery material of each context is briefly described to establish its horizon, date, and relative importance in terms of the late site.[33]

Context 1 /c. 340 A.D.

Period I Construction in Zone 3 (P2OZ3)

12 pots	ARS 1	PRS 0	PCW 0

There is a very small amount of material below floor levels of the walls of the Period I building which underlies Room 10 of the *praetorium* of Period III. The only piece of fine ware stratified here is an example of Hayes Form 50 B in terra sigillata chiara C, suggesting a *terminus post quem* in the middle of the fourth century A.D.

Context 2 /c. 340 A.D.

Period I Construction in Zone 2 (P1YF)

10 pots	ARS 1	PRS 0	PCW 0

A few pots are associated with floor levels of Period I in the area of Room 2 and Room 38. The one piece of African Red Slip is again an example of Hayes Form 50 B in terra sigillata chiara C, indicating that the context is exactly contemporary with Context 1.

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[32] Tables II to VI present the wares in the contexts in more detail.

[33] Pottery dates are basically derived from Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (1972) and *Supplement* (1980). Occasionally evidence from the site has required a revision of Hayes' dates; these revisions are discussed in detail in Chapter IV, "The Late African Red Slip Wares" and Chapter V, "The Phocaean Red Slip Ware".

Context 3* c. 375 A.D./

Period I Destruction under Midden I (P1YD)

91 pots	ARS 11	PRS 0	PCW 8

The material in this context is rubble and leveling material from the demolition in the fourth century A.D. of the remodelled rectangular villa plan of Late Period I. The context is stratigraphically sealed by occupation material of Period II (Midden I) that accumulated above it.

The fine ware in this context includes three examples of African Red Slip Form 50 B, two examples of Form 61 A, two stamped bases of late fourth century type, an example of Form 52 B, another fourth century base, and one example of Form 61 B. The date range suggested by these pieces is from the early to the late fourth century A.D. All the fine ware pieces except the example of Form 61 B certainly could pre-date 375 A.D. and this is the probable date of the deposition of the context.

Context 4 c. 375 A.D.?

Period II Construction in Zone 2 (P2R)

11 pots	ARS 1	PRS 0	PCW 2

The analysis of the stratification agrees very well with the analysis of the pottery in the defined contexts in almost every case. This context is the exception. Floor levels stratigraphically defined to be those of Period II in Room 7 have evidently been disturbed. While an African Red Slip base stamped in the style A(ii) suits the previously suggested date for construction of Period II, a painted common ware jug with a ridged rim (as SG Forms 9-11) does not otherwise appear in contexts earlier than 460 A.D. It is therefore likely that there has been a major intrusion here into an earlier context.

Context 5* /c. 375-c. 425 A.D./

Early Occupation of Period II (Lower Midden I)(P2MAL)

80 pots ARS 20 PRS 0 PCW 20

This material is part of a large midden, defined stratigraphically by the high organic content of the soil, which lies above the destruction rubble of Period I and which underlies Rooms 2 and 3 of Period III and therefore precedes them. Hayes' African Red Slip Forms 61 A, 53 B, 61 B, 80 B and 91 B suggest a date range for this context c. 340 to c. 425 A.D. The material in the context was actually laid down after 375 A.D., since that is the late date in the underlying destruction material of Period I.

Context 6* /c. 425-c. 460 A.D./

Late Occupation of Period II (Upper Midden I)(P2MAT)

124 pots ARS 24 PRS 6 PCW 37

Material in the upper stratum of Midden I, particularly in its western extent, includes pottery dated later than the latest material in the lower layers of Midden I, as well as pottery datable as early as the mid-fourth century A.D. Examples of Hayes African Red Slip Forms 61 A, 61 B, 53 B, 58, 64 and a variant of Form 80 B are very similar to the range of fine wares which appeared in Lower Midden I, but later forms include a small variant of African Red Slip Form 97 and an example of Form 87 C, plus four examples of Phocaean Red Slip Form 3 C rims and two bases. These later forms taken together suggest a date in the mid-fifth century A.D. The same range of late forms appears in the material from build-up and floor for the Period III building complex (Contexts 8 and 9). The date range for the material in this context is therefore c. 340 to c. 460 A.D. Since the material stratified below this context in Lower Midden I is sealed c. 425 A.D., the actual date of deposition of the material is c. 425 to c. 460 A.D.

Context 7 c. 340-c. 460 A.D.

Period I Destruction and Period II Occupation (P1D)

77 pots ARS 3 PRS 1 PCW 9

The destruction layers of Period I stratigraphically defined by this designation were at the surface in Period II, and the latest material in the context is contemporary with material in the upper stratum of Midden I, a fact which suggests that they were perhaps covered over by topsoil in Period III.

The earliest type of late fine ware found on the site, an example of Hayes Form 50 B in the third and fourth century fabric terra sigillata chiara C, indicates that the material stratified here began to accumulate in the first half of the fourth century A.D.; but Forms 61 B, 91 B and 80 B, also characteristic of Midden I, indicate the late fourth and first quarter of the fifth century A.D.

The latest piece of fine ware stratified in this context is an example of Phocaean Red Slip Form 3 C, which is the latest form to appear in the upper level of Midden I and in the material stratified below the Period III complex. The material in the context dates from c. 340 to c. 460 A.D., and there is no means of narrowing the date of the context further.

Context 8 c. 460 A.D./

Period III Buildup and Floor in Zone 3 (P3BFZ3)

204 pots	ARS 8	PRS 6	PCW 12

The material under the apsed building of Period III in Zone 3 (Context 8) is extremely mixed. Including tentatively typed coarse ware, 91 pieces or 45 percent of the 204 catalogued vessels in this context can be dated to the first or second century A.D. Of the seventeen pieces of African Red Slip catalogued, nine are in terra sigillata chiara A and belong to the second century A.D. This is the minimum number of residual pieces in the context, and probably well over half of the pottery which underlies or represents floor layers in the large apsed building in Zone 3 is material of the early site. There is also some residual material contemporary with the occupation of Period II, including three joins with material of Midden I. This distribution suggests that some soil from Midden I was used in the levelling of the slope before the construction.

Another indication that most of the material in Context 8 is residual is the fact that the painted common ware makes up only six percent of all the catalogued pottery; the ware makes up thirty percent of catalogued pottery in Context 6* (Upper Midden I) and forty-one percent in Context 9 (Period III Construction in Zone 2).

The latest material in the context, however, are pieces of Phocaean Red Slip Hayes Form 3 C and an example of Hayes African Red Slip Form 87 C very similar to those in Contexts 6* and 9. They again suggest a *terminus post quem* c. 460 A.D.

Context 9 /c. 460 + A.D.

Period III Buildup and Floor in Zone 2 (P3BFZ2)

98 pots ARS 6 PRS 0 PCW 41

There is a rather large amount of material associated with Period III build-up and floor in Zone 2 inside and in the vicinity of the Period III western range of rooms (Rooms 2, 3 and 5) (Context 9). A great percentage of the pottery comes from Room 5. The floor of Room 5 was disturbed to natural at the time of the remodelling, and the material deposited inside the walls is consistently of the second half of the fifth century or later. The latest certainly dated fine wares in the context are Hayes African Red Slip Forms 76 and 87 C, which suggest a *terminus post quem* c. 460 A.D. The appearance of two examples of Gaza amphora, which was found otherwise only in Midden IV and in the destruction context of Period III, may also indicate a date significantly later than 460 A.D. The evidence suggests that the remodelling of Room 5 may be a subordinate phase within

Period III, and that the material here was deposited at some limited period in the second half of the fifth century A.D.

Context 10 c. 460 + A.D.

Period III Occupation in Zone 2 (P3BOZ2)

21 pots ARS 0 PRS 0 PCW 3

In general, occupation material on the San Giovanni site is found in middens where refuse was deliberately collected rather than appearing in 'occupation layers' over the site. The small amount of material stratigraphically identified as occupation material which is not from middens is actually from contemporary walking surfaces. As this material was exposed to contamination in Period III, the context is differentiated from the construction layers.

There is no identifiable fine ware in Context 10; the three examples of painted common ware include a wide-mouthed jar (SG Form 43) and a wall sherd from a closed form decorated with wavy combing. Neither type appears in other contexts dated earlier than 460 A.D.

Context 11 c. 460 + A.D.

Period III Occupation in Zone 3 (P3BOZ3)

20 pots ARS 1 PRS 0 PCW 1

The only material with this stratigraphic designation is the walking surface of Room 40 to the south of the apsed building. The latest datable fine ware in this context is an example of a bowl in African Red Slip with a stamp possibly of Hayes Type A(i); the type dates to the fourth century A.D., a good deal earlier than the date of Period III construction. A painted common ware jug with a ridged rim (as SG Forms 9-11) suggests a date not earlier than 460 A.D.

Context 12* /c. 460-c. 530 A.D./

Period III Occupation (Midden IV) (P3MBZ2)

183 pots	ARS 10	PRS 1	PCW 83

A great deal of the occupation material which postdates the construction of the Period III buildings was excavated in a midden (Midden IV), which is stratigraphically defined by soil type. Midden IV lies over and in the near vicinity of the ruins of Room 7 of Period II and is not otherwise stratigraphically associated with a building period.

The pottery material is very consistent in type, a fact which may indicate that it was laid down within a relatively short period. Datable fine ware in the context is limited to a few examples of African Red Slip Hayes Forms 99 B and 87 C, an imitation of ARS Hayes Form 97 in a regional ware, and an early example of Phocaean Red Slip Hayes Form 3 F, all of which are consistent with a date for the midden in the second half of the fifth century A.D. Form 99 is very common in destruction contexts at Conimbriga, which gives the appearance of the form a *terminus ante quem* of 465/468 A.D. There is therefore good reason to believe that this midden began to accumulate soon after the construction of the buildings of Period III, the *terminus post quem* for which has been set c. 460 A.D. by the evidence of Contexts 6* and 9.

Context 13* /c. 530 A.D./

Period III Destruction (P3D)

126 pots ARS 6 PRS 2 PCW 51

Rubble from the destruction of the Period III buildings includes a small amount of fine ware which should date the final occupation of these buildings. In this context there was found the latest piece of datable fine ware on the site, an example of Phocaean Red Slip Hayes Form 3 F which has comparanda at the Samos Heraion, in a small cistern dated by coins to first half of the sixth century A.D.[34] Examples of African Red Slip Form 99 B and the general consistency of the painted common ware with the types found in Midden IV indicate a date not too far removed from the late date for that context. It therefore seems reasonable to date the destruction of the Period III buildings and the end of the occupation of the site to a period c. 530 A.D.

Context 14 /c. 530 + A.D.

Topsoil (TO)

83 pots ARS 5 PRS 1 PCW 30

There is no structural or stratigraphic evidence of occupation on the San Giovanni site after the destruction of the buildings of Period III, and pottery types found in topsoil are not later than those found in Period III occupation and destruction contexts. The latest datable fine ware found in topsoil is an example of Hayes African Red

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[34] For details, cf. Chapter V, "The Phocaean Red Slip Ware", P3816*, p. 150.

Slip Form 96, which suggests a date in the second half of the fifth century A.D.

E. The Late Middens

During Periods II and III the occupants evidently had the intention, not perfectly realized, of depositing all of their refuse at one designated spot at any particular point in time. This practice is indicated by the fact that apart from pottery found in destruction layers and topsoil (Contexts 3*, 7, 13* and 14), 53% of the catalogued stratified pottery of the late site was found in two middens (Contexts 5* and 6* and Context 12*), 39% in contexts where the soil was obviously moved in or disturbed in the course of construction of Period III (Contexts 8 and 9) and only 8% was found in the remaining five contexts (Contexts 1, 2, 4, 10 and 11).

As of 1980, four middens of the late period were identified on the San Giovanni site (see Map V).[35] The middens are kitchen garbage heaps; those excavated at San Giovanni were defined by their organically rich dark soil and by the high concentration of pottery and other artifacts found in them. Midden I (Contexts 5* and 6*) and Midden IV (Context 12*) are tied to the building history of the site by stratigraphy, and have been described above.

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[35] Some of the material in this chapter is derived from a paper, "Pottery from the Late Middens at San Giovanni di Ruoti", prepared for the Tavola Rotonda on San Giovanni held at the Canadian Consulate in Rome on July 4, 1981. The papers presented at that conference will be published in the immediate future. An earlier version of the paper was presented December 29, 1980, at the 1980 New Orleans Conference of the Archaeological Institute of America.

Midden I was almost completely excavated in the 1978 season; the drop in pottery counts in relevant layers and grid squares on the west, south and east sides indicates its boundaries. The heavy concentration of pottery in the excavated area of Midden IV, on the other hand, suggests that less than half the midden was excavated in 1979.

Test trenches dug in 1977, the first season on the site, revealed two further late midden contexts, Middens II and III. These contexts cannot yet be tied to the stratigraphic analysis of the excavated site, but they provide interesting contrasts to the material of Middens I and IV.

Subsequent excavation has revealed extensions of Middens II and III, the predicted remaining area of Midden IV and four entirely new midden contexts, all in the area to the south of the *praetorium* of Period III.[34]

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[34] The trench which revealed Midden II was excavated by the Gruppo Archeologico Lucano in 1977; their excavation of another trench just to the north in 1978 picked up more material probably of the same midden. The remaining area of Midden IV was excavated in 1981. More of Midden III was excavated in the same season; it is stratified between two floor levels of Period III and therefore predates an addition to the *praetorium* of Period III. Another large late midden, not yet analysed in detail, was excavated to the south of the *praetorium* of Period III in 1981; the pottery indicates that it is also occupation material of Period III. Three new midden contexts were uncovered during the 1982 excavation season.

On the basis of the dated fine wares (see Table VII), Middens II and III are dated as follows:

Midden II	c. 350-c. 530 A.D.
Midden III	c. 450-c. 500 A.D.

Middens II and III both contain pottery datable later than 460 A.D., and therefore were also at least partially laid down during the occupation of Period III.

Significantly, each of the three middens of Period III can be differentiated from its fellows in terms of its pottery horizon. Midden II is characterized by Phocaean Red Slip in SG Rim Types 1, 2 and 4, and by a corresponding range of African Red Slip forms dating from c. 375 to c. 500 A.D.; Midden III has a rim and a base in Phocaean Red Slip SG Type 2, both probably from one and the same bowl, which indicate a date in the second half of the fifth century A.D., but no African Red Slip at all, in a context which held nearly one thousand sherds; Midden IV is characterized by one piece of Phocaean Red Slip of the second half of the fifth century A.D. and by several examples of Form 99 B in African Red Slip, which has the same approximate date.

It is therefore likely that each midden had a discrete lifespan. At present, however, the range of dates possible for the material in Middens II, III and IV is too similar and too wide to suggest a sequence in which the middens might have been in active use, or a narrower deposition date within Period III for any of Middens II, III or IV. Analysis of the subsequent excavation may clarify this question through stratigraphy.

F. Suggested Chronology of the Late Site

It remains to summarize a suggested chronology for the late site which represents a synthesis of the evidence of the excavated pottery and the stratigraphic analysis.

Late Period I
    Construction: c. 340 A.D.
    Occupation: c. 340-c. 375 A.D.
    Demolition: c. 375 A.D.
Late Period II
    Construction: c. 375 A.D.
    Occupation: c. 375-c. 460 A.D.
        Lower Midden I: c. 375-c. 425 A.D.
        Upper Midden I: c. 425-c. 460 A.D.
Late Period III
    Construction: c. 460 A.D.
    Occupation: c. 460-c. 530 A.D.
    Destruction: c. 530 A.D.

There is no good basis at present to suggest a closer date for the addition of the mosaic floor in Room 15 or the remodelling of Room 5, which represent one or two subordinate phases in Period III. The only argument for the suggested date c. 500 A.D. is that, as it marks the midpoint between the two extremes, it will not be very far wrong.

III. The Evidence of the Small Finds

An exhaustive study of the small finds from the late periods on the San Giovanni site would be far beyond the limits of this thesis. Since, however, the thesis depends very heavily on known pottery types to date contexts, it is appropriate to discuss what sort of evidence for date exists among the small finds and how consistent that evidence is with the evidence of the datable fine wares. The relevant small finds are the coins, lamps, glass and architectural fragments from the late site.[37]

A. The Coins

Twenty-three coins were found on the site in the 1977 to 1980 seasons. Twenty-two of these are *aes* coinage; only one silver coin has been found on the San Giovanni site. Fourteen of the twenty-three date to the fourth century A.D. and nine date to the period of the early site, from the second century B.C. to the end of the second century A.D. No coin later than the fourth century A.D. was excavated in the seasons 1977 to 1980.[38]

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[37] The coins will be published by Richard Reece of the Institute of Archaeology in London; the tentative identifications of the coins listed were made by him on the basis of photographs and catalogued measurements and descriptions. Observations on the late lamps are derived from a provisional report on the lamps by J. J. Rossiter, "San Giovanni di Ruoti 1977-1979: The Pottery Lamps". The glass will be published by J. W. Hayes: as the glass study is in progress, only general observations can be made. Observations on the architecture follow published views of A. M. Small.

The coins which are identified as fourth century, including those which are illegible, almost certainly date from 324 to 378 A.D., judging by their size; they are certainly not later than c. 420 A.D. There is no sign of known coin issues of the second half of the fifth or the first half of the sixth century A.D.[39]

All coins of the 1977 to 1980 seasons are listed below, including unstratified coins and coins from outside the delimited area of the late site. Unstratified coins are listed in order of their findspot from west (Zone 1) to east (the kiln) on the San Giovanni site, and the context of the coin is described. The ten coins stratified in contexts of the late site are listed with the deposition date of the context.

The first coin from the 1977 to 1980 seasons was found at the surface by the magnetometer survey before the excavation of the site.

1. C0160 w 3.365 gms md 2.50 cms

Worn *as* of first or second century A.D.

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[38] Six additional coins were excavated in 1981 and thirteen in 1982. There is, of course, no detailed stratigraphic analysis as yet of the area excavated in 1981 and 1982. Three of the 1981 coins belong to the fourth century A.D.; while not certainly identified, the remaining three seem to be much later. Coins from 1982 have not yet been analysed.

[39] I quote observations of Richard Reece, pers. comm., June, 1982.

Several coins in Zone 1 cannot be related to the stratigraphic analysis of either the early or late site at San Giovanni (C0150 is certainly in topsoil). Three of this group of six coins date to the fourth century A.D.; it is possible that these coins have some undetermined relationship with the remodelling of the villa of the early site which marks the beginning of Late Period I.

2. C1108 w 29.750 gms md 3.50 cms
   Greek imperial bronze of late second century A.D.?
3. C1106 w 12.520 gms md 3.00 cms
   Republican *as*, probably second century B.C.
4. C0150 w 1.860 gms md 1.90 cms
   Commemorates foundation of Constantinopolis, mint of Rome, 330-335 A.D.
5. C0151 w 1.530 gms md 1.35 cms
   Silver *quinarius* of Augustus, 28-26 B.C.
6. C0152 w 2.000 gms md 1.60 cms
   Constantine I, mint of Rome, 330-335 A.D.
7. C0154 w 2.415 gms md 1.80 cms
   Commemorates foundation of Constantinopolis, mint of Siscia, 330-335 A.D.

The next coin was stratified under a small remnant of later floor in Room 24 of the villa of the early site in Zone 1; it is the date of this floor that indicates that the villa of the early site was remodelled in Late Period I.

8. C1803 w 5.500 gms md 2.20 cms

Follis of Maxentius, 'CONSERV VRB SVAE', mint of Ostia?, 308-312 A.D.

The following coin was stratified with occupation material of Late Period I in Zone 1.

9. C0153 w 5.950 gms md 2.10 cms

Republican bronze, probably first century B.C.

One coin was found in destruction levels in Zone 1 that are associated with the remodelled villa of Late Period I.

10. C0156 w 2.705 gms md 2.15 cms

Diocletian, mint of Carthage, 284-300 A.D.

Two coins from Zone 1 are in topsoil from an area of remodelling in Late Period I.

11. C0155 w 1.700 gms md 1.70 cms

Possibly of Constans, mint of Cyzicus, 330-335 A.D.

12. C0159 w 1.155 gms md 1.50 cms

Uncertain third or fourth century A.D. date.

The following ten coins are stratified in contexts relevant to the late site in Periods II and III.

Context 1 /c. 340 A.D.

13. C1102 w 10.400 gms md 2.70 cms

Identification uncertain.

*Context 3** c. 375 A.D./

14. C1805 w 2.900 gms md 1.50 cms

Illegible, fourth century A.D.

15. C1806 w 1.000 gms md 1.30 cms

Illegible, fourth century A.D.

*Context 5** /c. 375-c. 425 A.D./

Both coins found in Lower Midden I are very worn, which may indicate that they had already been in use for some time.

16. C1105 w 1.160 gms md 1.30 cms

Illegible, fourth century A.D.

17. C1107 w .700 gms md 1.50 cms

Illegible, fourth century A.D.

Context 7 c. 340-c. 460 A.D.

18. C1101 w 1.420 gms md 1.50 cms

Illegible, fourth century A.D.

Context 8 c. 460 A.D./

Context 8 is the very mixed material of the buildup for the apsed building of Period III in Zone 3. A small building of Late Period I was demolished in this area.

19. C0158 w .830 gms md 1.40 cms

House of Constantine, 'Fallen Horseman', 350-355 A.D.

20. C1804 w 2.880 gms md 1.80 cms

Constantine I, 'Sarmatia Devicta', mint of Sirmium, 322-324 A.D.

*Context 13** /c. 530 A.D./

The two coins from destruction material of Period III actually date to the period of the early site.

21. C1103 w 6.880 gms md 2.10 cms

Probably a worn *as* of the second century.

22. C1104 w 9.280 gms md 2.70 cms

Agrippa, 15-40 A.D.

The following coin was found stratified in levels above the kiln of the early site.

23. C0157 w 8.850 gms md 2.95 cms

Agrippa, 15-40 A.D.

The identifications of the coins and their distribution on the site suggest that coined money was fairly common on the site in the fourth century A.D. The complete lack of coins which might be dated later than the first quarter of the fifth century A.D. is striking, but is in agreement with a general shortage of coins in circulation in the western Mediterranean in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. Evidently if coins were used at all on the San Giovanni site in the fifth century A.D., they were the increasingly worn types of the fourth century.[48]

B. The Late Lamps

One hundred and fifty-three lamps, mostly fragmentary, from the excavation at San Giovanni from 1977 to 1980, have been classified by typology independent of the evidence of the stratification.[41] These lamps fall into early and late groups: sixty-nine pieces belong to a variety of types dating from the first and second centuries A.D. (about thirty additional small fragments belong generally to this early time period), while eighty-four pieces date to approximately the fifth century A.D.

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[48] For a discussion of the historical issues, see Chapter VII, "The Pottery as Material Evidence of its Society".

More than half of the identifiable late lamps (45 of 84) are outside contexts related to the late period on the site by the stratigraphic analysis. Twenty-nine late lamps are from Middens II and III, which were not integrated with the area excavation;[42] however, the evidence of lamps outside the stratigraphic analysis does not conflict with those which can be related to it.

The evidence of the lamps for the late period on the San Giovanni site is weighted completely differently from that of the coins: Hayes Type I, the African lamp typical of the late fourth and early fifth century A.D., is rare on the site, but lamps of Hayes Type II and imitations, dated to the 430's and later, are plentiful. Hayes dates the appearance of Type I as early as the mid-fourth century

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[41] The classifications used refer to the identifications made by J. J. Rossiter in his provisional report (December, 1980) on the San Giovanni lamps. A basic discussion of the late African lamps may be found in J. W. Hayes, "African Lamps", *Late Roman Pottery*, London, 1972, pp. 310-315. The report also relies on D. M. Bailey, *Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum, II: Roman Lamps made in Italy*, (British Museum, 1980) and on J. W. Hayes, "North African Lamps" in *Ancient Lamps in the Royal Ontario Museum, I: Greek and Roman Clay Lamps*, (Toronto, 1980), pp. 63-69 and pls. 34-36.

[42] For a discussion of these middens see Chapter II, "Stratigraphic Analysis of the Late Site", pp. 41-44.

A.D., and it may continue to the middle of the fifth. His Type II A appears around the 430's and continues into the sixth century A.D.: Type II B appears in the second half of the fifth. Rossiter's classification of the lamps from San Giovanni does not differentiate between Types II A and II B in African Red Slip.

Copies of these types in African Red Slip are contemporary to the originals. Imitations of Type II have been placed in five groups which are characterized by a variety of fabrics and/or decorative motifs. Among the imitations, Type II A has been distinguished from Type II B, which appears slightly later and is much more common on the San Giovanni site.

Fifty-six identifiable lamps were found in contexts stratigraphically related to the late site. Seventeen of these are types of the first or second century A.D.; of these, ten were found in Context 8, the buildup under the apsed building of Period III in Zone 3, which includes a large percentage of residual material from the early site.

While lamp material in contexts of the late site is otherwise in complete agreement with the pottery dates, Context 3* (destruction material of Late Period I) and Context 5* (Lower Midden I, occupation material of the early part of Late Period II) include lamps that are tentatively identified as later than all other material in the contexts.

Of three lamps in Context 3*, which has a deposition date c. 375 A.D., one is Hayes Type I in African Red Slip;

the general type begins as early as the middle of the fourth century A.D. Two other lamps from the context, one a wall fragment, have been tentatively dated to the second half of the fifth century A.D. by Rossiter; neither identification is certain.

I date the deposition of Context 5* c. 375-c. 425 A.D. Again, there is one example of Hayes Type I in African Red Slip. Two further lamps are tentatively dated much later: SF819, a large lamp of unique form, has no good parallels; SF839, although a fragment, *may* be correctly identified as an imitation of Hayes Type II B.

In defense of the context dates derived from the pottery, it should be noted that there are only two stratified examples of Hayes Type I in African Red Slip on the site. These examples appear in Contexts 3* and 5*, where they agree with the dates suggested by the pottery fine wares.

The distribution of the lamps gives good corroboration of the pottery dating of contexts related to Period III. Of five lamps in Context 6* (Upper Midden I), three are African imports of Type II, which does not appear before the 430's, while two are local imitations of Type II B, which dates to the second half of the fifth century A.D. The lamp evidence therefore supports the suggested mid-fifth century date for fine ware Phocaean Red Slip Form 3 C and African Red Slip Form 87 A, confirms that Midden I continued to accumulate until the mid-fifth century A.D. and agrees very well with the suggested deposition date of the context of c. 425-c. 460 A.D.

In Context 8, probably well over half of the excavated pottery was of the first and second centuries A.D., but the latest pottery from the context suggests a date in the mid-fifth century A.D. The evidence of the lamps follows the same pattern. Ten lamps date from the first to as late as the early third century A.D. The remaining five lamps are of late types, their average date slightly later than that of the five in Upper Midden I.

By far the heaviest concentration of late lamps appears in Context 12* (Midden IV), where, of fifteen lamps, fourteen are classed as African Red Slip Hayes Type II or imitations. Five of the fourteen examples of Hayes Type II are genuine African Red Slip imports. The great majority of the imitations of Type II on the site, including seven of eight in Midden IV, are derivatives of Type II B. Midden IV is very consistently dated to the second half of the fifth century A.D. by its pottery, and the lamps are in complete agreement with the pottery date.

The same range of types appear in Context 13* (destruction levels of Period III), but four of the five lamps are imitations. Of three late lamps in topsoil, one is an uncertainly identified African Red Slip import and two pieces are imitations of Type II B.

The destruction of the site dates to approximately 530 A.D. according to the pottery evidence. At this time, African Red Slip lamps of Types II A and II B had not yet gone out of fashion, and the lamp evidence can only provide indirect support for the destruction date suggested by the pottery evidence.

C. Glass in Stratified Late Contexts

Fragments of glass vessels occur fairly commonly in the late contexts at San Giovanni. About five hundred vessels have been catalogued in the seasons of 1977 to 1980.[43]

A particularly wide variety of forms, including goblets, bowls and flagons, appears in Midden I (occupation material of Period II; Contexts 5* and 6* are dated c. 375-c. 460 A.D.). Very clear, bubble-free glass, a variety of colors, including blue and even pink, and certain identifiable forms indicate that some of the glass in Midden I could date as early as the first or second century A.D. and only the goblet bases require a date later than the fourth century.

The ratio of catalogued glass to pottery sherds continues at about the same level in Midden IV (occupation material of Period III, c. 460-c. 530 A.D.), but the glass in Midden IV is generally of poorer technical quality and limited variety; of forty catalogued glass fragments in

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[43] The glass has been catalogued by J. J. Rossiter (1977) and by Mlle Claude Roberto (1978-1980). I owe the identification and dating information to J. W. Hayes, who will publish the glass from San Giovanni.

Midden IV, nineteen are goblet bases and four more pieces are bases of flagons. The contrast between the two midden contexts suggests less luxury for the site during the occupation of Period III.

By far the most common distinguishable fragments of glass vessels from the late site in general are bases of a goblet form, identified by J. W. Hayes as examples or variants of Isings Form 111.[44] The body of the goblet is conical and sits above a fairly short stem. The flared foot is sometimes flat, sometimes an inverted cone; both the rim and the foot are often finished with a fine rolled edge.

The goblet bases at San Giovanni are made in a fairly bubbly, somewhat rough-surfaced blown glass. While most examples are greenish in color, amber, yellowish and colorless pieces also occur. The diameter of the goblet bases catalogued is generally between three and four centimeters. In several examples at San Giovanni the foot is oval rather than round. The diameter of appropriate rims varies between six and eight centimeters. A very few pieces are larger, with base diameters of about six centimeters and rims as large as ten; but generally the vessels are small and thin-walled, giving an impression of delicacy despite the somewhat rough quality of their manufacture.

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[44] The basic typological series for glass is C. Isings, *Roman Glass from Dated Finds*, (Archeologia Traiectina II), (Groningen and Djakarta, 1957). Typical San Giovanni goblet bases closely resemble a base published by Hayes in *Roman and Pre-Roman Glass in the Royal Ontario Museum: A Catalogue*, (Toronto, 1975), p. 176, no. 653 and p. 158. Complete examples of the form appear in G. Sergi, "La necropoli barbarica di Castel Trosino presso Ascoli Piceno", *Mon. Ant.* 12 (1902), p. 299 and pl. XI, 4; and in A. Pasqui, "Necropoli barbarica di Nocera Umbra", *Mon. Ant.* 25 (1918), col. 172 and fig. 20 and col. 204 and fig. 55. Both of these examples are 9.5 cms in height. Bases also occur at Invillino (fig. 13, nos. 13-20). The accompanying fine wares date from the fourth to sixth centuries A.D. (fig. 10); G. Fingerlin, J. Garbsch and J. Werner, "Gli Scavi nel Castello Longobardo di Ibligo-Invillino (Friuli)", *Aquileia Nostra* 39 (1969), pp. 57-136.

The form seems to be typical particularly of the eastern Mediterranean, but also appears on "Dark Age" western sites from the early fifth to the beginning of the seventh century A.D.[45] Examples of the form in Italy appear in the Lombard cemetery at Ascoli Piceno and in an Ostrogothic or Lombard cemetery at Nocera Umbra, as well as in the Mithraeum of the Church of Santa Prisca in Rome.[46]

More than sixty examples of bases (many are complete rounds) or stems of goblets of this general type have been catalogued from the seasons of 1977 to 1980. In the dated midden contexts there are two examples in Lower Midden I (c. 375-425 A.D.), six in Upper Midden I (c. 425-460 A.D.) and nineteen in Midden IV (c. 460-500 + A.D.). This distribution indicates that while the type first appears early in the fifth century A.D. at San Giovanni, it becomes increasingly dominant in the course of the century.

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[45] Cf. C. Isings in *The Excavations in the Mithraeum of the Church of Santa Prisca in Rome*, M. J. Vermaseren and C. C. Van Essen, (Leiden, 1965), p. 509 and figs. 438, 439. To Isings' list of sites in the eastern Mediterranean, one may add H. P. Isler, "Heraion von Samos: eine frühbyzantinische Zisterne" in *Athenische Mitteilungen* 84 (1969), p. 227 and esp. fig. 61, pl.98, 9. The Samos site is dated by coins and pottery to the first half of the sixth century A.D.

[46] See notes 44 and 45, above.

There is nothing among the glass to contradict the suggested deposition dates of the late contexts. The external indications of date for the goblet form which became so common in Period III do not conflict with the evidence at San Giovanni; however, the distribution at San Giovanni will allow finer discriminations of date to be made within the type.

D. The Architecture of the Late Site

The architectural remains of Late Periods I and II on the San Giovanni site were scanty and understood mostly by inference before the excavation season of 1982, when the plan of Period II was uncovered. Most of the work on the architecture of the late site has therefore been concentrated on the much greater information available from the complex of buildings of Period III.[47] The large main building of this period, with a polygonal apse at the western end, has many similarities in plan to the basilica of the late Roman secular administration and the medieval Christian church.

The polygonal apse and the treatment of the windows of the building provide independent evidence of its date.

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[47] Much of the material in this section follows the most recent treatment of the question by A. M. Small, "Gli edifici del periodo tardo-antico a San Giovanni", a paper presented at the Tavola Rotonda on San Giovanni on July 4, 1981 at the Canadian Consulate in Rome. Papers of the conference are in press.

Polygonal apses with five sides appear in the fourth century A.D.; those with seven or more sides, like that at San Giovanni, appear in the fifth century A.D. The earliest known example is the Basilica Ursiana at Ravenna, which is no longer intact; it was built c. 425-429 A.D. The surviving San Giovanni Evangelista was built c. 426-434 A.D.[48] Later examples are S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna, built by Theoderic and S. Apollinare in Classe, built in the reign of Justinian.

The windows of the apsed building at San Giovanni were divided by impost blocks standing on piers. S. Giovanni Evangelista has an upper gallery of windows of this type, indicating a modification of the original plan of the building by their spacing. Outside Italy, two examples of this window treatment are known at Salonika; one is the church known as 'Acheiropoietos', built c. 470 A.D., the other is 'Hagios Demetrios', dated 475 A.D.

The apsed building of Period III is understood by the excavators to be equivalent to the *praetorium* or residence of the *dominus* described by Palladius in *Opus Agriculturae*, written c. 460-480 A.D. Other contemporary structures adjoin the main building, so that the whole complex formed an imposing and defensible unit. The main entrance to the complex seems to be a stairway sited on the north or uphill side of the complex; this entrance led to the main apartments on an upper floor.

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[48] Cf. Giuseppe Bovini, *Edifici di culto di Ravenna d'età preteodoriciana*, (Bologna, 1969), pp. 2, 28 (Basilica Ursiana); p. 75 (S. Giovanni Evangelista).

If the upper floor had the same layout of rooms as the ground level, the type of building seems to have a number of similarities to villas and palaces of the barbarians; a noteworthy contemporary example is the villa on the island of Meleda in the Adriatic, which may have been begun by Pierius, *comes* of Odoacer, c. 489/490 A.D.[49]

At some time during Period III, the plan of the *praetorium* was modified by the addition of a suite of rooms at ground level. A new floor level was cut in the area of Room 15 and a mosaic floor, somewhat crude in design and technique, was installed. An approximate date for the mosaic c. 500 A.D. is suggested by the sequence of construction events in Period III.[50]

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[49] Cf. E. Dyggve, "Intorno al palazzo sull'isola di Meleda", *Palladio* 9 (1959), pp. 19-25; M. Cagiano de Azevedo, "Il *palatium* di Porto Palazzo a Meleda", in *Tardo Antico e Alto Medio Evo: La forma artistica nel passaggio dall'antichità al Medio Evo*, (Rome, 1968), pp. 273-284, plates I-VIII; later examples are also mentioned in Small's Tavola Rotonda article, see above.

[50] The limited excavation in 1980 was devoted to taking up the mosaic and the material under it in hopes of dating the mosaic more closely. Unfortunately only scraps of pottery were found; and nothing certainly later than the original construction of Period III. A wall sherd of Palestinian amphora may indicate a date c. 500 A.D. on the San Giovanni site; the appearance of the type in Context 9 has been used as evidence that the remodelling of Room 5 may have taken place later than the original construction of Period III.

The season's work is reported by A. M. Small, R. J. Buck and J. Z. Freed in "San Giovanni di Ruoti 1980" and by Katherine M. D. Dunbabin in "San Giovanni di Ruoti: The Mosaic", *Classical News and Views* 25 (1981), pp. 33-40. A second paper by Dunbabin, "The San Giovanni Mosaic in the Context of Late Roman Mosaic Production in Italy", was presented at the Tavola Rotonda on San Giovanni in Rome, July 4, 1981. Papers of the conference are in press.

E. Conclusions

None of the other finds provide evidence of date in any way comparable to the detailed and internally consistent structure which the dated pottery fine wares provide. In the period of the late site at San Giovanni, coins do not provide adequate evidence for date because they are not in common circulation after the end of the fourth century A.D. Lamps are helpful, but not equally common in all periods, and stratified examples are often so fragmentary as to make identification difficult. Glass types are not closely datable and not present on the site in a wide enough range of types to make them useful dating tools. The architectural evidence does not allow the date for the construction of Period III to be set within a narrow range.

On the other hand, the combined evidence of the small finds alone would be enough to date the site to the correct historical period. It is clear from coins that Period I of the late site will have begun before the middle of the fourth century A.D. Occupation material of Period II includes lamps dated to the late fourth century A.D. and lamps would also date Period III at or later than the middle of the fifth century A.D. The glass dates the occupation of Periods II and III to approximately the fifth century A.D. Architectural remains, especially the use of the impost block, indicate that the construction of Period III did not take place before the second half of the fifth century A.D.

There is no convincing evidence from the other finds of the late site to contradict the dates for the deposition of the various contexts based on the correlation of dated pottery and stratigraphic evidence. Furthermore, the context dates derived from the pottery, when related to the evidence of the small finds, result in increased understanding of the chronology of the lamps, glass and architectural remains. They also provide archaeological confirmation of the vicissitudes suffered by coinage in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries A.D.

IV. The Late African Red Slip Wares

The dominant group of fine wares in Italy in the fourth to the sixth centuries A.D. was imported from North Africa. These wares are commonly referred to as 'African Red Slip', following the terminology of J. W. Hayes, the author of the accepted synthesis on the typology and chronology of the late Roman fine wares of the second to seventh centuries A.D.[51]

There are 134 examples of late African Red Slip on the San Giovanni site; that is, 134 pieces in fabrics dated later than the end of the second century A.D. While the sample of late African Red Slip from the site could be considered small, the distribution of these pieces in clearly defined contexts and assemblages allows a good deal of new information to be perceived on about twenty forms which were imported to the site in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. In this chapter, identifications of these pieces by form and fabric have been correlated with factual information on the various contexts and assemblages.[52]

There are serious problems with the present state of knowledge of African Red Slip wares in the specific period of the late site at San Giovanni. One is the broad and sometimes mistaken dating presently accepted for the various forms; this problem is particularly acute in the fifth century A.D.[53] A second failing of the present system for this period is inadequate definition of the wares; this problem is equally troublesome through the whole chronological range of the African Red Slip wares.

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[51] Hayes adopted the term, which denotes the provenance and the orange to red self-slipped fabrics of the ware, from K. M. Kenyon, who used it in in her report on the pottery from Sabratha; Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), p. 13.

[52] An interpretation of the meaning of the importation of specific fine wares to the site will be presented in Chapter VII, "The Pottery as Material Evidence of Its Society".

African Red Slip has a long and complicated history. A variety of closely related wares was produced in a number of individual workshops in the area of modern Tunisia from the late first to the late seventh centuries A.D. Production centers linked with tentatively identified wares have been located in north, central and south Tunisia; Carthage/Oudna in ancient Zeugitana and El Djem/El Aouja and La Skhira/Sbeitla in ancient Byzacena.[54]

The ordinary difficulties of ware definition are compounded because of the interrelationships of these workshops. Bowls in particular were exported from them across a wide area of Europe and the Mediterranean. While each workshop produced a characteristic line of forms, their geographical proximity allowed ideas about production of forms to be transmitted very readily from one workshop to the next; the result is that familiar forms may appear in unexpected fabrics.[55]

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[53] Cf. Hayes, *Supplement* (1980), pp. 515-517.

[54] The production of the southernmost workshops (in the vicinity of La Skhira/Sbeitla) was not exported to the western Mediterranean; cf. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), pp. 296-299. Hayes' account follows the researches of Salomonson, who originally interested himself in these wares from the viewpoint of an art historian. Cf. J. W. Salomonson, "Spätrömische rote Tonware mit Reliefverzierung aus Nordafrikanischen Werkstätten, Entwicklungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur Reliefgeschmückten terra sigillata chiara 'C'", *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 44 (1969), pp. 4-109. See also Andrea Carandini, "Produzione agricola" (1969-70), pp. 96-119.

A. The Present Classification of the Wares

While certain of the known ware classifications of African Red Slip are relevant to the fourth to sixth centuries A.D., there has been no adequately systematic definition of the African wares from this or any period in terms of characteristics of fabric, associated range of forms, or the dates within which the individual wares were produced.[56]

A definitive guide to the fine wares produced by the African workshops would be helpful. Since the workshops which produced the different African wares had varied histories, observations on ware can establish the date of a particular piece more accurately. The problem involved is extremely difficult, however; first, because a general study on the same scale as Hayes' *Late Roman Pottery* is required; and second, because of the complicated and confused terminology which must be replaced.

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[55] The evidence from San Giovanni will be discussed below. Examples can also be seen in Carandini's chart of forms in 'sigillata africana' from the Ostia Terme in the early third century; particular forms appear in more than one ware, cf. *Ostia III* (1973), p. 334.

[56] In *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), Hayes summarized the opinions of earlier scholars and tentatively defined a few new fabrics, but did not attempt a systematic definition of wares; "Fabrics", pp. 287-292.

Certain of the African fine wares with which Hayes worked had previously been defined by other scholars, notably F. O. Waage ('Late Roman A and B'),[57] Nino Lamboglia ('terra sigillata chiara A, C and D')[58] and Andrea Carandini, expanding Lamboglia's scheme.[59]

Waage and Lamboglia defined individual wares by both fabric and form within a generally comparable sample of the wares most frequently exported; their original distinctions between wares are valid, but not completely compatible. Although their classifications were fairly vaguely expressed in terms of the characteristics of fabric and the associated forms, they describe recognizable wares and therefore are reasonably adequate as working definitions.[60]

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[57] F. O. Waage defined 'Late Roman A and B' in his publication of the late Roman fine wares from the Athenian Agora in *Hesperia II* (1933), pp. 279-328 and pls. VIII-X, and from excavations at Antioch in *Antioch IV* (1948), especially pp. 43-58 on 'Late Roman Pottery' and pls. VII-XI.

[58] Lamboglia presented his system of classification, arrived at quite independently of Waage, in a series of articles: "Terra sigillata chiara", *Rivista Ingauna e Intemilia = Rivista di Studi Liguri* 29 (1941), pp. 7-22; "Nuove osservazioni sulla 'terra sigillata chiara'", *RSL* 24 (1958), pp. 257-330 on 'tsc A', and 29 (1963), pp. 145-162 on 'tsc C' and pp. 180-212 on 'tsc D'. For a summary description of the wares, cf. Lamboglia, *Albintimilium* (1950), p. 29. Lamboglia's form numbering system is still often used by Italian archaeologists, and students of Italian archaeology need to be acquainted with Lamboglia's system as well as that of Hayes. A concordance of the two is provided in *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), pp. 446-447; Hayes also assigns equivalent form numbers to Waage's 'Late Roman A and B' (801-900) from Antioch.

[59] Carandini expanded Lamboglia's system when he discovered its inadequacy relative to the range of African wares at the excavation of the Ostia Terme and in Tunisia. Although Carandini's new observations are valuable, the inevitable confusion caused by the existence of two contemporary and inadequate systems was compounded by his attempt to expand Lamboglia's system and nomenclature. A statement of the revised system is to be found in the chapter "Sigillata chiara" in *Ostia I* (1968), pp. 25-61.

There are three fabrics relevant to the fourth to sixth centuries A.D. according to Waage (Late Roman A, B(ii) and B(iii)), and only two according to Lamboglia (terra sigillata chiara C and D).[61] Neither system adequately represents the range in the African wares of the fourth to sixth centuries A.D. found at San Giovanni.

The Byzacena Wares

Lamboglia's 'sigillata chiara C' is equivalent to Waage's 'Late Roman A'. The production of this class of wares has been located to the area of Byzacena.[62] Carandini has subsequently distinguished four fabrics within 'sigillata chiara C', of which two, 'C2' and 'C3', appear at San Giovanni. The 'C2' fabric first appears at Ostia in the third century; the fourth-century version of 'Late Roman A' or 'terra sigillata chiara C' which appears at San Giovanni is also best classified as equivalent to 'C2'.[63]

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[60] For instance, Hayes used the Waage/Lamboglia scheme to classify the material in the South Etruria survey of the British School at Rome; cf. *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), p. 288 and n. 3 and *PBSR* 33 (1965), pp. 110-112, and fig. 8.
[61] A concordance of fabrics in African Red Slip at San Giovanni appears on page 74.
[62] See page 64 and note 54.

The 'C2' ware is distinguished by its fine fabric and thin walls (as thin as 0.3 cms in the relatively thick-walled late examples from San Giovanni). The fabric is hard-fired and dull light red in color; horizontal smoothing marks are often visible on the exterior. The thin well-adhering glossy red slip is applied only in the interior and over the rim. Diagonal dribble lines where the slip has run across the exterior below the rim are characteristic of this fabric.

'C2' occurs in a stereotyped series of open bowl forms, with plain or wide flared rims. The most common are Hayes Forms 48, 50 and 52; late versions of the last two appear at San Giovanni. The forms are eminently suitable for export shipping because they can be compactly stacked, and were repeated with only minimal evolution over the first two centuries of production of the workshop.[64]

The 'C3' fabric is slightly coarser and harder than the 'C2' fabric, and can easily be differentiated by its color.

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[63] The ware is typical of the third century A.D. according to Carandini. He thinks the end date for undecorated forms like the examples of Hayes Form 50 B at San Giovanni should be the second quarter of the fourth century A.D., judging by finds from Cologne; but he notes that Salomonson and Waage suggest the end of the fourth; cf. *Ostia I* (1968), pp. 33-35 and n. 23.

For Waage, the latest piece in 'Late Roman A' ('tsc C') is 836x, an example of Hayes 50 B with no footring; Waage dated it to the beginning of the fifth century A.D. at the latest. Waage argues from an excavation at Daphne, where Late Roman A appears with fourth century coins, *Antioch IV* (1948), pp. 54-55. Waage's dating is accepted by Hayes.

[64] Cf. Salomonson, *BABesch* (1969), p. 64.

The fabric is usually dark red or red brown; and as the slip is almost identical in color, slip finish and fabric contrast very little. On the examples at San Giovanni, diagonal dribble lines still occur, but they are much less noticeable on this fabric. Hayes Form 53 B appears in this ware at San Giovanni.

Although it is impossible to be certain from the published accounts, it seems likely that the same workshop produced the relief applique decorated pieces: 'C decorata' in Carandini's system (he seems to distinguish these types as a separate fabric or ware). Hayes Form 53 A in 'C decorata' is distinguished from 53 B only by the appearance of relief applique versus feather rouletting as the decoration on the interior of the bowl. Salomonson sets the date of the workshop that produced the pieces decorated with relief applique at the late end of the continuum for 'sigillata chiara C'. The date he suggested was c. 280 to as late as c. 450 A.D.[65] Hayes dates Form 53 B to c. 370 to c. 430 A.D.; a chronology which would place it at the end of the date range that Salomonson suggests for the 'C decorata' workshop. Hayes believes that his Forms 82 to 84 occur in a similar fabric in fifth and sixth century contexts.[66] This dating would imply that production at Byzacena continued into the late fifth and early sixth centuries A.D.

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[65] Salomonson, *BABesch* (1969), p. 73.
[66] Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), p. 291.

The Zeugitana Wares

Lamboglia's very general ware classification 'terra sigillata chiara D' is now located to Zeugitana or northern Tunisia, probably in the vicinity of Carthage. Waage had earlier differentiated this class into two fabrics, which he called 'Late Roman B(ii) and B(iii)'.

His Late Roman B(ii) has a fine, light orange colored fabric, with a thin smooth slip on the interior and over the rim on the exterior. Because this fabric is relatively fine, Waage stated that this phase in 'Late Roman B' could be confused with poor quality examples of 'Late Roman A'; that is, in Lamboglia's terms, crude 'sigillata chiara C' can be confused with fine 'sigillata chiara D'. Forms in this ware are typically large flat-bottomed bowls with an internal stamp decoration. Most examples of Hayes Form 61 B at San Giovanni are in this ware.[47] The present consensus is that Late Roman B(ii) or sigillata chiara D began to be produced in Zeugitana, the same area where the earliest commonly exported African Red Slip ware, 'terra sigillata chiara A', had once been produced, c. 300/320 A.D. and continued in production until c. 425 A.D.[48]

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[47] Hayes has noted that the examples of Form 61 B characteristic of San Giovanni are in a fabric typical at Carthage; pers. comm., July, 1978.

[48] Lamboglia believed that the production of 'terra sigillata chiara A' deteriorated during the third century, but that manufacture of fine pottery revived in Zeugitana around 300 A.D. with the production of 'D'; cf. Lamboglia, *RSL* 29 (1963), p. 180 and Carandini, *Ostia III* (1973), p. 695; why such a revival occured is not evident; Carandini, *Ostia I* (1968), p. 33. Carandini accepts an end date c. 425, cf. *Ostia III* (1973), p. 657.

Waage's Late Roman B(iii) has a coarse-grained, hard-fired body with a thick polished red-orange slip, which again does not cover the exterior. The typical forms have applied ring bases, and often have an interior stamped decoration as well. According to Waage's observations, the ware was contemporary with 'Late Roman C'; that is, with 'Phocaean Red Slip'.

The major exported African wares and fabrics from the middle of the fifth century A.D. generally fit this description. In Hayes' summary of the Waage/Lamboglia system, he dates this class to the sixth and seventh centuries A.D.[69] His revision of the dating of late forms suggests that the ware or class of wares actually begins around the middle of the fifth century A.D.

The workshop identified at Oudna in Zeugitana that produced a variety of small deep bowls (Hayes Forms 96, 97 and 99)[70] represents a specific ware within this general class of fabrics.

The A/D Ware of Carandini

Carandini named a late ware which he was the first to describe systematically, 'terra sigillata chiara A/D'.[71] Carandini notes that the 'tsc A/D' ware is like 'A' in fabric, consistency of slip and thickness of walls, and can occur in related forms. However, its slip is particularly creamy; its color tends to be a brilliant dark red orange; and the slip is not well-married to the clay, tending to scratch easily. Thin-section revealed that the slip is relatively thin and adheres poorly because of large grains of quartz in the body of the fabric.[72]

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[69] Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), p. 288.

[70] Cf. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), pp. 150-155.

[71] Carandini, *Ostia I*, (1968), pp. 30-34, 38 and 60. Hayes seems to describe the same fabric as associated with Form 61 B in *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), p. 291.

The 'A/D' fabric first appears in the first half of the third century A.D.[73] A fabric which answers the same description occurs in contexts of the late fourth century A.D. at San Giovanni, particularly in examples of a variant of Hayes Form 58[74] and in Hayes Form 61 A.

A variant of Hayes Form 58 occurs in a similar fabric at Conimbriga. The fabric is described as grainy, wine-red, with a good deal of calcite and rare large quartz particles, the slip not thick, with a medium gloss and a pimply surface.

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[72] Carandini includes publication of thin-sections (by Tizio Mannoni) to illustrate his ware classifications; cf. *Ostia I* (1968), pp. 38-39. For thin-sectioning as a method of objectively describing fabric and subsequently identifying ware, cf. especially D. P. S. Peacock, "Ceramics in Roman and Medieval Archaeology", pp. 21-34, and "Pompeian Red Ware", pp. 147-162, in *Pottery and Early Commerce: Characterization and Trade in Roman and Later Ceramics*, ed. D. P. S. Peacock (London and New York, 1977).

[73] It appears in a context of the second quarter of the third century at the Ostia Terme ('Strato I E'). 'Sigillata chiara A/D' was not particularly common at Ostia around 240 A.D., making up only 6 percent of all 'African Red Slip' found in contexts of that date, while 'A' still accounts for 65 percent, and 'C2' just under 25 percent; cf. *Ostia III* (1973), p. 657.

[74] Quite a few examples of Lamboglia's African Form 52 C occur in the 'A/D' fabric at Ostia; this form, which is a variant of Hayes Form 58, is common in 'tsc D', and ought to belong to the late fourth century A.D.; cf. *Ostia I* (1968), p. 60.

A fabric that seems to be the same has been noted by Hayes in fifth and sixth century contexts, particularly in examples of Hayes Forms 61 B and 87.[75] If all these cases are properly identified as belonging to the ware (the examples of Form 87 on the San Giovanni site are not in the A/D fabric) 'A/D' has a far longer life than Carandini originally posited for it.

I know of no direct evidence for the provenance of the 'A/D' ware.[76] The coarseness of the ware would link it to the workshops in Zeugitana which produced sigillata chiara A (the dominant African ware in the second century A.D.) and D; and this fact was clearly in Carandini's mind when he labelled the ware.

B. The Late African Wares at San Giovanni

Wares from the North African production that are relevant to the fourth to the sixth centuries A.D. and appear on the San Giovanni site are listed in the following table; fabrics at San Giovanni are listed with their equivalent designation in the systems of Waage, Lamboglia, and Carandini. The dates given are composite dates from recent work by various scholars.[77] The dating of these fabrics in the light of stratigraphic evidence from San Giovanni is discussed below in the section of conclusions to this chapter.

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[75] Cf. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), p. 291. Given a number of changes in Hayes' dating, it is more correct to consider these as fourth and fifth century contexts.

[76] Examples of Form 58 in the 'A/D' fabric at Conimbriga are most like Hayes 58.19-20, and the Conimbriga team noted that 58.19 is from La Skhira, the southernmost of three pottery centers in central Tunisia. A connection with La Skhira seems unlikely, since the wares associated with the south sound very unlike the A/D fabric; cf. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), pp. 298 and 116 (the fabric of Form 68).

1.	Carandini's 'sigillata chiara C2'/ Lamboglia's 'sigillata chiara C'/ Waage's 'Late Roman A'	c. 220-c. 400 A.D
2.	Carandini's 'sigillata chiara A/D'	first half III (+)
3.	Lamboglia's 'sigillata chiara D'/ Waage's 'Late Roman B(ii)'	c. 300-c. 425 A.D.
4.	Carandini's 'sigillata chiara C3'	end IV-early V
5.	Hayes' 'Oudna' fabric/ Lamboglia's 'sigillata chiara D'/ Waage's 'Late Roman B(iii)'	second half V +
6.	Lamboglia's 'sigillata chiara D'/ Waage's 'Late Roman B(iii)'	late IV +

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[77] Dates for SG Fabric 1 from Carandini, Hayes and Waage, see note 11; for SG Fabric 2 from Carandini, *Ostia I* (1968), p. 32, and Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), p. 291; for the beginning of SG Fabric 3 from Carandini, *Ostia III* (1973), p. 695, for the end from Waage, *Antioch IV*, pp. 57-58; for SG Fabric 4 from Salomonson, *BABesch* (1969), p. 73. SG Fabric 5 dates are derived from the revised dating of the Oudna forms following the Conimbriga reports, Hayes, *Supplement* (1980), p. 516. The general class SG Fabric 6 appears by the late fourth century A.D.; the general end date for the production of African Red Slip and therefore of this fabric is the late seventh century A.D., *Ibid.*, p. 517.

Six late African fabrics appear on the San Giovanni site in the late period. It is possible that the contemporary 'C decorata', which does not, was too expensive for the occupants of the San Giovanni site in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.

SG Fabric 1: The C2 Fabric of Carandini

This fabric is equivalent to Carandini's C2, described above. Forms 50 B, 52 B and 62 B appear in this fabric. Forms 82, 84, 86 and 91 occur in a fine fabric which, when worn, cannot be clearly distinguished from C2 in paste, color or hardness. Although examples at San Giovanni represent the later and relatively cruder version of this fabric, typical wall thicknesses vary between 0.4 to 0.5 cms.

SG Fabric 2: The A/D Fabric of Carandini

At San Giovanni, a fabric which seems to be equivalent to Carandini's A/D was easily distinguished by its shiny red orange slip which forms pockmarks with wear. The paste of this fabric at San Giovanni is hard and coarse, with a variety of small white inclusions. The walls of the fabric are relatively thick; they vary from 0.4 to 0.65 cms in three examples of a variant of Form 58, and from 0.6 to 0.9 cms in ten examples of Form 61 A. Examples of Form 58 were not as hard-fired as the examples of Form 61 A in the same fabric. In addition to Forms 58 and 61 A, two uncertainly identified base sherds and an example of Form 61 B also appeared in this fabric.

SG Fabric 3: Late Roman B(ii) of Waage

This is one of several wares which can be differentiated within Lamboglia's classification 'terra sigillata chiara D'. It is equivalent to Waage's Late Roman B(ii), described above. At San Giovanni, the fabric is very hard-fired and fine-grained with traces of tooled horizontal smoothing on the exterior. It ordinarily has sparse minute black and white inclusions; occasionally inclusions are slightly larger (c. 1 mm). The color of the fabric in the break is generally a light red-orange. The fabric is coated with a very well-adhering soap-smooth orange to red brown slip on the interior of the bowl forms; the same shiny smooth slip continues over the rim, but the wall below the rim is smoothed but not slipped. The paste is somewhat similar in fineness of grain and in color to the late examples of Form 50 B in terra sigillata chiara C2 which appear on the San Giovanni site, and is technically very competently made. The best examples of this fabric appear in the version of Hayes Form 61 B which is characteristic of the San Giovanni site. 15 of 29 stratified examples of Form 61 appear in this fabric. An inferior but evidently related fabric appears in examples of Form 50 B, Form 61 B with carinated rim, Form 80 B; the San Giovanni examples of Form 91 are difficult to assign as they are somewhat similar to either Fabric 1 or 3.

SG Fabric 4: The C3 Fabric of Carandini

This fabric, Carandini's 'C3', is described above. At San Giovanni, Form 53 B is generally found in this fabric. The majority of the examples of this delicate small bowl form have walls ranging between 0.3 to 0.4 cms thick. One example of Form 50 B also appears in a fabric which cannot be differentiated from C3.

SG Fabric 5: The Oudna Fabric

This is a fine to coarse hard-fired dark red or bright orange fabric with a well-adhering slightly shiny slip in the same color as the fabric on the interior and over the rim on the exterior of the form. Small white inclusions are occasionally identifiable as bits of shell. It is associated with a series of small deep bowls; the fabric is easily identified in association with Forms 96, 97 and 99 on the San Giovanni site.

SG Fabric 6: Undifferentiated D Ware

The remainder of the late African fabrics can be grouped as undifferentiated 'terra sigillata chiara D'; this class includes quite a bit of variation. These fabrics are generally coarse and hard, dark red to red brown in color, with a glittery or very shiny well-adhering dark red slip. Hayes Forms 64, 76 and 87 C fall into this class at San Giovanni.

C. The Forms in Late African Red Slip from San Giovanni

The forms in the late African wares will be discussed in terms of Hayes' form classification, which is implicitly chronologically ordered. The discussion of the forms therefore begins with his Form 50 B, which is the earliest of the late forms to appear on the San Giovanni site and runs consecutively through those forms which occur to Form 12/102.

In the following discussion of the late African Red Slip, each piece is listed with an abbreviation for its context immediately after the catalogue number and immediately before indication of the rim or base diameter. The color of the fabric and slip is also indicated. The fabric of the piece is noted in the discussion or the following notes. Table IV, the forms of late African Red Slip in the various stratigraphic contexts, may be helpful in following the arguments of this chapter.

Hayes Form 50 B

The earliest datable form in late African Red Slip on the site is Hayes Form 50 B.[78] This form is a simple open bowl, which occurs in two variants. The earlier type (Form 50 A) has a wide base, steep walls and a tiny footring marking the base curve. Hayes dates Form 50 A from c.

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[78] For the definition of the form, see Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), fig. 12 and pp. 69-73; it is equivalent to Lamboglia's Form 40. Lamboglia first defined Form 40 in *Albintimilium* (1950), p.147. Hayes distinguishes two variants of the form, but Lamboglia's system does not.

230/240 to 360 A.D.'' No examples of Form 50 A occur on the San Giovanni site.

The later version (Form 50 B) is a deeper bowl with wider flaring walls. The tiny footring occasionally disappears. In *Late Roman Pottery*, Hayes dated Form 50 B to the period 350-400 + A.D. While visiting the San Giovanni site, he identified P1278* and P1515* as examples of Form 50 B and suggested that they belonged to the second half of the fourth century, perhaps as late as 400 A.D.''

An example of Form 50 B in 'sigillata chiara C' which is similar to examples of the form in that ware from San Giovanni has been published among the sigillata from Conimbriga in Portugal. A date c. 320/330 A.D. was assigned to this piece, which is the latest in the Form 50 series there.''

There are sixteen examples of Form 50 B on the San Giovanni site: it is therefore relatively common. Most of the examples are of rims only. The one example which is complete enough to indicate the base as well as the rim (P0516*) does not have the tiny footring; however, one base (P1823) has a tiny vestigial footring.

''Examples of this form are very common in levels of the second quarter of the third century in the excavations at the Terme del Nuotatore carried on by Carandini at Ostia. Carandini uses Lamboglia's form numbers. *Ostia III* (1973) does not include drawings of the form, but drawings from *Ostia I* (1968), plate V, figs. 86-97, as well as photos in figs. 697-702, are clearly of pieces equivalent to Hayes Form 50 A.

''Comment made during site visit, July 17, 1978.

''*Conimbriga IV* (1975), p. 256 and pl. LXV, no. 23. The diameter of the piece is 41.0 cm.

Hayes Form 50 B occurs in several fabrics on the San Giovanni site. For Hayes, Form 50 evidently occurs only in 'tsc C', but examples of Form 50 A at Ostia occur in four different fabrics according to Carandini: 'A' (1), 'A/D' (188), 'C1' (23) and 'C2' (641).[82] At San Giovanni, one hundred years later than the Ostia context, Form 50 B occurs in Fabrics 1, 3 and 4, roughly equivalent to Carandini's 'C2', 'D' and 'C3'.

Of the sixteen examples of Hayes Form 50 B bowls on the San Giovanni site, nine are in Fabric 1, the 'sigillata chiara C' fabric defined by Lamboglia, redefined as 'C2' by Carandini. The examples at San Giovanni are late and therefore relatively crude examples of the fabric, but comparatively elegant in the range of fabrics at San Giovanni. The wall thickness of these bowls vary from approximately 0.4 to 0.5 cms. As far as it is possible to determine, examples of the form in this ware are fairly large; the five measurable rims have diameters between 28.0 and 42.0 centimeters.

1.	P1646	C7	rd 35.0	red	thin red slip
2.	P0013	NS	rd 35.0	brick red	bright orange slip
3.	P0516*	C2	rd 32.0	orange	orange slip
4.	P1278*	C13*	rd 42.0	red	smooth red slip
5.	P1842	C2	rd 28.0	red	red slip
6.	P1823	C3*	bd 9.0	red	red slip

At 9.0 cm diameter, this base shows a hollow in the

interior and a tiny step on the exterior.

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[82] Cf. *Ostia III* (1973), pp. 54-55.

7. P0481 C8 rim orange orange slip

This piece has a grey core and therefore was underfired.

8. P1702 C1 rim red red slip

The fabric of this piece is particularly fine; there are horizontal smoothing marks every 0.7 cm on the exterior.

9. P0291 NS rd 35.0 red orange brick red slip

A single example of Form 50 B appears in Fabric 4 (Carandini's 'C3'); the walls of this piece are very thin, varying between 0.3 and 0.4 cms.

10. P1540* C3* rd 33.0 redbrown smooth dark redbrown slip

There are five other large diameter examples of Hayes Form 50 B in a coarse version of Fabric 3, equivalent to Waage's Late Roman B(ii). These pieces have thicker walls (about 0.5 to 0.7 cms) and a relatively thick very well-adhering red orange gloss applied on the interior and just over the rim. This group of examples of Hayes Form 50 B is as follows:

11. P1001 NS rd 25-30 orange orange slip, heavier at rim and interior

The fabric of this piece is quite coarse.

12. P1515* C3* rd 35.0 red red slip

Diagonal dribble lines as with C2 fabric.

13. P0780 NS rd 33.0 brick red smooth worn brick red slip

14. P1565	C8	rd 29.0	red	red brown slip
15. P3584	C8	rd 36.0	orange	dark orange slip
16. P0841	MII	rd 30-40	dull red	brick red slip

The stratigraphic analysis indicates that Form 50 B in SG Fabric 3 has a different distribution and later date than the examples of Form 50 B in Fabric 1.

Small Flared Bowls as Hayes Form 50 B or 80 B

At San Giovanni, rims of small examples of Form 50 B with a diameter of approximately 20.0 cms, cannot be distinguished from Form 80 B (or Form 81 B) with absolute certainty, since both forms appear in versions of SG Fabric 3 (Late Roman B(ii)) and there is little meaningful distinction between the rims in form, inclination or size. I have therefore defined a composite category of small bowls with flared walls.

I have divided the group into three: those most like small versions of Form 50 B, those impossible to differentiate, and those most like Form 80 B. P0846*, a defined base, is a certain example of Form 80 B.

Hayes would date small examples of Form 50 B to the second half of the fourth century A.D.; Forms 80 B and 81 B he originally dated to the second half of the fifth century A.D.,[83] but their association with his Form 61 B has caused him to move their date back to c. 380 to c. 420 as well.[44]

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[83] Cf. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), p. 128.

The examples at San Giovanni most like Form 50 B are as follows; two pieces, P3033* and P6031, have a particularly coarse fabric:

1.	P3033*	NS	rd 20.5	brick red	matte red slip
	Coarse Fabric 3.				
2.	P0631	C7	rd 21.0	orange	red slip
	Coarse Fabric 3.				
3.	P1716	C8	rd 20.0	orange	matte red orange slip
4.	P2048	C13*	rd 21.0	pink orange	thick matte orange slip

The following two pieces cannot be classified either way:

5.	P0630*	C7	rd 17.0	brick red	dull brick red slip
6.	P1550	C5*	rd 21.0	dark red	dark red brown slip
	Form uncertain; the piece was noted as an oddity by Hayes. Light closely spaced horizontal burnishing on interior wall.				

The six remaining pieces are best classed as examples of Form 80 B:

7.	P1447	C7	rim	red	matte red orange slip
8.	P1460	C6*	rim	red	dark redbrown slip

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[44] Examples of Form 80 B in a deposit at Carthage which predates 425 A.D. confirms the lowered dating, cf. Lucinda Neuru, "Late Roman Pottery: A Fifth-Century Deposit from Carthage", *Antiquités Africaines* 16 (1980), p. 200 and pl. III.

Small groove in top edge of rim.

9. P3288 C8 rd 22.0 orange orange slip

10. P3012* NS rd 17.0 orange orange slip

Fine Fabric 3 with a variety of small inclusions, as P1408*.

11. P1408* C5* rd 21.0 orange red orange slip

This form was identified by Hayes as a variant of Form 80. The rim has a flat exterior band 0.8 cms wide. Fabric as P3012*.

12. P0846* MII bd 7.0 brick red dark red orange slip

Base defined by offset 0.1 cms high. Coarse Fabric 3.

The stratigraphic analysis does not show any distinction of date between these groups.

Small Deep Bowl with Horizontal Rim

This unique bowl is truly an oddity. The outer edge of the horizontal rim is indented every half centimeter or so and the interior wall of the bowl is burnished. The fabric seems to be best identified as Fabric 6 (one of the undifferentiated 'D' wares); it is gritty and coarse, but the slip is well-adhering.

1. P1547* C5* rd 14.5 orange red slip

Pilgrim Flask as Hayes Form 147

A stratified example of a moulded pilgrim flask in African Red Slip appears on the San Giovanni site. The flask is small and its handles and rim are broken away. The fabric is reminiscent of that of late African lamps in Hayes Types I and II; it is perhaps best classed as SG Fabric 3 ('LRB(ii)'). The piece seems very worn and may be residual. Certain examples of residual pottery make up only two and a half to three percent of catalogued pieces in Lower Midden I (Context 5*), however; and as the date of this type is not fixed, I include it here.

1. P1528* C5* 11.0 orange no slip
   The fabric has a grey core, showing that it was underfired.

Hayes Form 52 B

A fine example of Hayes Form 52 B in Fabric 1 (C2) appears on the San Giovanni site.[65] Form 52 B is a small bowl with a flared rim, which should have an applique decoration. The identification of our piece is certain; however, no applique appears on the preserved bit of rim. Hayes saw this piece on the site and dated it to the second half of the fourth century A.D.[44] because of its relatively large size and the groove in its outer rim; similar examples occur in deposits of the Athenian Agora from the second half of the fourth century A.D. The piece is as follows:

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[65] Hayes Form 52 is equivalent to Lamboglia Form 35. For Form 52, see Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), fig. 13 and pp. 76-78. Form 52 B equals Lamboglia's Form 35 'a rilievi'. The earlier version of Form 52 (52 A) appears at Ostia in a ware related to 'sigillata chiara C' in contexts of the first half of the third century A.D.; cf. *Ostia I* (1968), p. 31, n. 16.

1. P3077* C3* rd 18.0 brick red brick red slip

Hayes Form 53 B

Hayes Form 53 is a fairly small open bowl with flared walls and flat base. It is regularly decorated by a double groove just below the rim on the interior wall. A version of this bowl which was very common in Africa has relief applique decoration in the interior (Form 53 A); a less flamboyant and perhaps slightly later version has feather rouletting on the lower interior wall and base of the bowl (Form 53 B). This type of bowl was produced in the Byzacena workshops. Form 53 B dates from c. 370 to c. 430 A.D. according to Hayes.

Thirteen examples of Form 53 B appear on the San Giovanni site. All are in Fabric 4 (C3); and ten of these have very thin walls, averaging between 0.3 and 0.4 cms. These are the most delicate of all the pieces of late African Red Slip on the San Giovanni site. Four examples, which are clearly the same form, are in a coarser version of the fabric and have heavier walls; they are grouped at the end of the list.

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[44] Comment on site visit, July 17, 1978, following his views in *Late Roman Pottery* (1972) on Form 52 B.

All but two rims listed below have a double groove below the rim on the interior wall. The two exceptions have a single groove. Five examples preserve the feather rouletting on the lower interior wall that is characteristic of Form 53 B.

1. P1553* C5* rd 21.0 red red slip
2. P1419* C5* rd 18.5 red orange red slip
   Profile almost complete. Feather rouletting in lower interior of bowl.
3. P1167 NS base red brown red brown slip
   Feather rouletting covers entire interior of sherd.
4. P1399 C5* rd 21.0 brick red red slip
   Feather rouletting visible at break.
5. P1371 C6* rd 19.0 dark red dark red brown slip
6. P1333 C6* rim red orange red orange slip
7. P1724 C6* base red red slip
   Feather rouletting, very lightly impressed toward base of sherd.
8. P1575 C9 rd 18.0 red red slip
   Single wide shallow groove on interior wall below rim.
9. P0256 NS base brick red brick red slip
   Feather rouletting in to 10.0 cms diameter.
10. P1449 C6* rd 20.0 red orange orange slip, red brown at rim
   Slightly coarse fabric. Single groove on interior wall below rim.

11. P0837 MII rd 23.0 brick red brick red slip

Slightly coarse fabric.

12. P1031 C7 rd 21.0 brick red dull red brown slip

Slightly coarse fabric.

13. P1258 C8 rd 22.0 redbrown red brown slip

Slightly coarse fabric.

Hayes Form 58

San Giovanni produced four examples of a form which I tentatively class as a variant of Hayes Form 58. Hayes' Form 58 is a fairly large open bowl with a narrow horizontal rim. Our examples are small relative to the ones which Hayes documents in *Late Roman Pottery.*[87] Only one of the pieces at San Giovanni has a groove marked on the top of the thick horizontal rim.[88]

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[87] For Form 58 see fig. 14 and pp. 93-96; the range of diameters in his twenty-one listed examples is from 22 to 42 centimeters, concentrating between 27 and 36 centimeters. As the form at San Giovanni seems to date later than ordinary examples of Form 58, Hayes has suggested that the smaller examples might actually be early examples of his Form 98; pers. comm., September 1982. I cannot accept this suggestion, because of the uniformity of the fabric of three of our four examples, and because Form 98 has a high footring base. There was no trace of a base of this type in Context 6*: all other evidence indicates that forms with this type of base belong to the second half of the fifth century A.D. and do not appear on the site at San Giovanni before Period III.

[88] All four examples resemble Lamboglia Form 52 C. Lamboglia Form 52 is generally equivalent to Hayes Form 58, but Hayes does not distinguish a subordinate form as Lamboglia 52 C. The closest equivalent to 52 C in Hayes' classification is the variant of Hayes Form 58 drawn as 58.19.

A similar variant of Hayes Form 58 was the second most common form in the ware classification 'sigillata chiara D' on the Conimbriga site. The form appears in two fabrics at Conimbriga, 'sigillata D' and a fabric that seems to be equivalent to Carandini's 'A/D'.[89] These pieces have a thick, downturned rim, and a grainy fabric with orange slip. The Conimbriga examples are larger than those at San Giovanni, ranging from 25.0 to 42.6 cm. in diameter.

In *Late Roman Pottery*, Hayes dated Form 58 to the period 290/300-375 A.D. and suggested that variants of Form 58 should be early.[90] On the San Giovanni site, he noted that he considered the form to belong to the fourth century and not later.[91]

Lamboglia's Form 52 C, which is closely equivalent to the San Giovanni variants of Hayes Form 58, occured in stratified contexts at Albintimilium; Lamboglia described it as common in fourth century and Late Roman levels.[92] In fact, none of the contexts in which it occurs at Albintimilium is narrowly enough dated to fix the date of the form; Hayes' present system would date other material in them from the middle of the fourth to the end of the fifth century A.D.

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[89] *Conimbriga IV* (1975), p. 262 and plate LXVI: nos. 29-41 are examples of Hayes Form 58; nos. 36-41 are most like the San Giovanni examples.

[90] Cf. *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), p. 93.

[91] Comment made on P1578* during site visit, July 17, 1978.

[92] Lamboglia, *RSL* 29 (1963), p. 197; cf. *Albintimilium* (1950), p. 144, nos. 25, 37; p. 175, no. 7; p. 183, nos. 6-10. He dated the contexts of the examples from Albintimilim to mid IV-end V (p. 144); III-end IV, p. 175; III-end IV, p. 183. Lamboglia does not have a clear ware description for Form 52 C; but includes them in the general classification 'D'.

The variant is common at Conimbriga;[13] and the Conimbriga team dates it from the first to the third quarter of the fourth century A.D., following Hayes. On the other hand, they found it difficult to resolve their site's final date (465/468 A.D.) with Hayes' dating scheme for the fourth and fifth century African Red Slip; the early date of Form 58 B is one aspect of the problem, since examples of this 'fourth century type' were common in the destruction levels for the site.[14]

Three of the examples at San Giovanni, P1578*, P1286* and P3052 occur in SG Fabric 2, a coarse fabric with a relatively thick all-over red orange slip, which wears away from the wall in flakes, leaving pitted scars. It is equivalent to Carandini's 'sigillata A/D'. The same fabric occurs at San Giovanni in examples of Form 61 B with carinated rim and partially contracted base. The remaining piece is Fabric 3 (LRB(ii)), which is linked with the version of Form 61 B with knobbed rim and strongly contracted base that is characteristic of the San Giovanni site. The examples of Form 58 are as follows:

1. P1578* C6* rd 17.0 orange shiny flaking red orange slip

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[13] With 94 examples, it is the second most numerous form after Form 61 among late African Red Slip found there, cf. *Conimbriga IV* (1975), p. 262.

[14] *Conimbriga IV* (1975), pp. 270-271.

2. P1286* C6* rd 26.0 red smooth red orange slip

Groove on top of rim.

3. P3052 C12* rd 17.0 orange shiny flaking orange slip

4. P0560 NS rd 21.0 dark orange mottled orange slip

The piece has a grey core and is therefore underfired.

The stratigraphic analysis of the San Giovanni site indicates that the date of this variant of Form 58 is later than Hayes suggests.

Hayes Form 61

Form 61 is one of the most common and long-lived forms in African Red Slip,[115] spanning the period from the early fourth to the early fifth century A.D. Hayes has divided the form into two phases, Forms 61 A and 61 B.[116]

The process of evolution from Form 61 A to 61 B is very clear. Form 61 A appears first in the early fourth century A.D. as a wide flat-bottomed bowl with a carinated rim. Later examples of the form (Form 61 B) are smaller on the average, with a slightly contracted base and lipped rim.

Thirty-one examples of Form 61 appear at San Giovanni. It is the most numerous form in African Red Slip on the site. The whole range of the form as delineated in Hayes'

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[115] At Conimbriga, it is the most common form in African Red Slip, with 111 examples, *Conimbriga IV* (1975), p. 263.
[116] For Form 61, see *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), figs. 16 and 17, and pp. 100-107.

Late Roman Pottery appears, although the examples of Form 61 A on the site are not as early as the earliest pieces in Hayes' series.

The most common version of the form at San Giovanni is a deeper bowl with a strongly contracted base and knobbed rim. One example (P1342*) of this type has a vertical lipped rim; it is very similar to the latest drawn example (61.31) in the sequence Hayes illustrates in *Late Roman Pottery*. The remaining examples are of a consistent type which is not well-documented elsewhere.

In his publication of African Red Slip from the Port Miou shipwreck,'' Deneauve shows a variety of Form 61 B which is rather late according to the scheme laid out by Hayes. If the Deneauve forms are sequenced according to the scheme of Hayes, the latest forms (C770, C869, C870) show a close resemblance to the version of Form 61 B typical at San Giovanni. While Deneauve dated the pieces to the third quarter of the fourth century A.D., Hayes considers the group to date rather c. 410-c. 425 ? A.D.''

I originally believed that this version of Form 61 B must continue Hayes' sequence and be slightly later than his

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''Jean Deneauve, "Céramique et lampes africaines sur la Côte de Provence", *Antiquités Africaines* 6 (1972), pp. 219-240.

''Hayes, *Ancient Lamps in the ROM* (1980), p. 66.

proposed end date,[99] because of the fact that the base is more strongly contracted[100] and the knobbed rim seems to represent a progression beyond the carinated rims Hayes illustrates. The true facts are different. The typical San Giovanni version of Form 61 B differs from the examples which Hayes illustrates in rim treatment, and in the relative size of the base. Furthermore, while all the pieces which follow Hayes' outline closely are in SG Fabric 2 (A/D), all the pieces which I find particularly characteristic of Form 61 B at San Giovanni are Fabric 3 (LRB(ii)).

The examples of Hayes Form 61 at San Giovanni therefore have been classed in several groups: there are three examples of Form 61 A with the completely uncontracted base and carinated vertical rim which Hayes considered indicative of the early type. All three pieces are in Fabric 2. Eight more pieces, while still wide low bowls with carinated vertical rims, are slightly deeper with flaring walls which suggest a partially contracted base; these are examples of Hayes Form 61 B, very much like his illustrated 61.30. Seven of eight are in Fabric 2. Another twenty rims are of the type with sharply defined knobbed rims which is characteristic of San Giovanni, and all but one example of this type of profile is in Fabric 3; the remaining piece, P1748*, is in Fabric 2.

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[99] I made this suggestion in a paper presented at a Tavola Rotonda on San Giovanni in Rome, July 4, 1981. I was particularly impressed by the fact that examples of Form 61 B in a context ending in 424 A.D. at Carthage look earlier in the sequence than these San Giovanni forms, according to a paper "Some Remarks on African Red Slip in the Early Fifth Century at Carthage", read by Lucinda Neuru at the conference of the Archaeological Institute of America in New Orleans, December, 1980 and pers. comm., June, 1981.

[100] While the most strongly contracted base which Hayes illustrates in *Late Roman Pottery*, 61.30, still measures approximately 19.0 cms on a piece which has a rim diameter of 35.3 cms; the most strongly contracted bases of Form 61 B at San Giovanni average about 9.0 cms, judging by stamped bases of A(ii) or A(iii) types, by base P1445 and by the bases which can be predicted for the nearly complete profiles listed in the classification below of Form 61 B with Knobbed Rim and Strongly Contracted Base.

In *Late Roman Pottery*, Hayes suggested that Form 61 A be dated to the period c. 325-400/420 and that Form 61 B be dated c. 400-450 A.D. However, in his present opinion, Form 61 A runs no later than c. 380 A.D. Form 61 B, differentiated by the slightly contracted base, appears at approximately that time.[101]

It seems appropriate, following Hayes, to date the San Giovanni examples with completely uncontracted bases (Form 61 A) to the third quarter of the fourth century A.D. The examples with slightly contracted bases (Form 61 B in Fabric 2) are then dated from c. 380 to c. 430 A.D. The version of Form 61 B with the strongly contracted base and knobbed rim in Fabric 3, despite its very different appearance, has almost exactly the same distribution pattern on the site as Form 61 B in Fabric 2, concentrated in contexts of Period II, and therefore must be considered its contemporary.

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[101] Cf. Hayes, *Supplement* (1980), p. 516. On the basis of new evidence of Form 61 B occuring before the end of the fourth century A.D., Hayes has reinterpreted evidence from the Athenian Agora, and now believes that Form 61 A must end c. 380 A.D., and Form 61 B must begin at about the same time.

Form 61 A with Carinated Vertical Rim and Wide Base

The first three examples have completely uncontracted bases. All are in Fabric 2.

1.	P1400*	C5*	rd 32.5	red	dark red slip
2.	P3360*	C3*	rd 33.0	orange	orange slip
3.	P1254	C6*	bd 17.0	red	red orange slip

Base marked by low rise on interior at 17.0 cms, groove beyond applied base line on exterior.

Form 61 B with Carinated Vertical Rim, Partially Contracted Base

All but one of these bowls are in Fabric 2.

4.	P1096*	C6*	rd 35.0	red orange	red orange slip
5.	P1196	C6*	rd 29.5	red	worn red orange slip
6.	P1407	C5*	rd 34.0	red	dark red shiny slip
7.	P1579	C6*	rd 29-35	orange	red orange

Form identical to P1096*.

8.	P3313*	C3*	rd 26.0	fire darkened orange	matte fire darkened orange slip

The base of this piece is almost uncontracted.

9.	P2046*	C13*	rd 37.0	orange	red slip
10.	P1603	C3*	base	orange	red orange slip

Base marked by low rise on interior at 13.0 cms diameter.

11. P3814* C8 rd 30.0 red orange red brown slip

Fabric 3.

Form 61 B with Knobbed Rim, Strongly Contracted Base

The following pieces are examples of the version of Form 61 B that is characteristic at San Giovanni. Twenty of twenty-one examples are in Fabric 3. Although none of these pieces are complete profiles, it is possible from some nearly complete forms to predict a likely base diameter of 9.0 cms. The stamped bases of that size listed in the next section probably belong to these or similar bowls.

12. P1342* C5* rd 29.0 red orange red orange slip

This fabric has worn in pits, as is typical of Fabric 2.

13. P1020 NS rd 23.0 orange red slip

Burnishing rounds on interior floor.

14. P1418 C5* rd 26.0 red orange brown slip, mottled to black

This piece seems to have been burned.

15. P1264* C5* rd 27.0 orange red slip

Slip on interior is darker over smoothing marks.

16. P1428 C5* rd 27.0 orange orange brown slip

17. P1247* C6* rd 26.0 red orange red orange slip

18. P1462* C6* rd 26.0 red orange red brown slip

Slightly coarse fabric.

19. P1546 C5* rd 27.0 red orange red orange slip

20. P1173 C6* rim orange red orange slip

21. P1561 C5* rd 27.5 dull brown brown slip mottled to black

This piece has been damaged by fire.

22. P1360 C5* rd 26.0 red orange red orange slip

This fabric has worn in pits, as is typical of Fabric 2.

23. P3408* C3* rd 28.0 orange orange slip

The upper wall of this bowl is unusually thin.

24. P1395 C5* rd 25.0 red orange red to brown slip

25. P1448* C6* rd 25.0 orange red slip

Color of interior slip varies over horizontal smoothing lines. Slightly coarse fabric.

26. P1445 C6* bd 9.0 red redbrown slip

Diameter of base marked by rise on interior floor.

The next three rims, instead of being clearly lipped, form a squared edge not much thicker than the wall. The interior groove which is common on the other examples in the series is still clearly marked, however. They are in Fabric 3 and stratigraphy suggests that they are contemporary with the other examples of Form 61 B with knobbed rim and strongly contracted base.

27. P1316* C5* rim orange red orange slip

28. P3059 NS rim orange orange slip

29. P3340 C14 rim orange matte orange slip

The next three bowls have very strongly defined knobbed rims, which almost suggest Hayes Form 104, but do not seem to have strongly contracted bases. None of these pieces is in a stratified context, so there is no way to relate them meaningfully to the other examples of the form.

30. P1748* NS rd 28.0 orange orange slip
Fabric 2.

31. P0196 NS rd 35.0 orange orange slip
Fabric 3. The diameter of this piece may be reported incorrectly, since most examples of Form 61 B at San Giovanni measure between 25.0 and 30.0 cms.

32. P0813 NS rd 23.0 orange orange slip
Worn Fabric 3.

Type A Stamps

From the fourth to the early fifth centuries A.D., a number of bowl forms with flat bases in African Red Slip were stamped on the interior floor of the base in a decoration style which Hayes has designated 'Type A'. Most of the motifs in this decoration style are small geometric patterns; however, ovoid 'palm-branches' are also very common..

Decoration of this type has been grouped by Hayes into three styles of arrangement of the stamps.[102] The stamps in Type A(i) are smaller and neater than the stamps of the later types. A radiating group in the interior base of a bowl is surrounded by another ring of stamps. Types A(ii) and A(iii) use coarser, larger stamps. I find it harder to differentiate between these groups. The motifs of Type A(ii)

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[103] Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), pp. 217-218.

are grouped more simply than those of Type A(i), and concentrate at the center of the floor of the bowl. Type A(iii) grouping is sparser and moves away from the center of the bowl.

In *Late Roman Pottery*, Hayes dated Type A(i) c. 320-350 A.D., Type A(ii) c. 350-420 A.D. and Type A(iii) c. 420-470 A.D. Hayes has now reinterpreted the evidence from the Athenian Agora; he believes that Form 61 A, with its associated Type A(ii) stamped decoration, must end c. 380 A.D. and Form 61 B, with its style A(iii) stamped decoration, must begin at about the same time. As the dates of associated forms have been moved back, it now seems best to date A(ii) c. 350-c. 380 A.D. and A(iii) c. 380-c. 425 A.D.

The majority of stamps on African Red Slip at San Giovanni belong to the Type A group and all but two examples of these certainly belong to either Type A(ii) or A(iii). They are all from bases without rims, and usually there can be no certain identification of the form.

Most of the stamped bases are probably examples of Form 61, however, simply because Form 61 is the most common of the forms which bear stamps to appear on the San Giovanni site. The strongly contracted stamped bases are likely to be examples of Form 61 B in the version characteristic of the San Giovanni site. Several of the stamped pieces with contracted bases listed below are in Fabric 3, which is associated with the variant of Form 61 B characteristic of the site.

There are fifteen examples of stamp Type A at San Giovanni, of which two seem to be Type A(i):

1. P3442* C3* base orange dark orange slip
   Hayes identified this as Form 61 A; the base is not contracted. Type A(i); Hayes' stamp palm-branch, rosette and netted square motifs 2, 44B and 69. Fabric 2.
2. P0687 C10 base brick red brick red slip
   Possible loop motif 78, only two loops visible. Groove beyond stamp at 15.0 cms diameter. Base is not contracted. Fabric unidentified.

The remaining thirteen bases are impossible for me to differentiate between Types A(ii) and A(iii). Three have uncontracted bases and therefore have a link with the A(ii) type.

3. P1421 C6* base red orange red brown slip
   Hayes' netted circle motif 70 F inside a zone marked off by grooves on either side. Small stamps suggest A(i) type. Fabric 2.
4. P1332* C6* bd 23.0 red dark red slip
   A(ii); Hayes' palm branch motif 3. Base is not contracted. Coarse relatively Fabric 3 as P1642.
5. P0413 NS base brick red orange slip
   Hayes' netted square motif 70 inside a zone marked off by grooves on either side. The outer groove is at 11 cms diameter. Fabric unidentified.

The remaining ten pieces have large stamps grouped simply inside a contracted base which is approximately 9.0 cms in diameter. Even where there is no measurement of the base diameter, the grouping of the stamps makes this type easily recognizable. There is nothing exactly like this arrangement in Hayes' classification of stamped types. The layout of the stamps is very similar to several examples of Form 61 B in the group of African Red Slip from the Port Miou shipwreck.[103] It seems by its abundance and by its strong association with Fabric 3 to be the type of stamped decoration associated with the characteristic version of Form 61 B at San Giovanni.

6. P3588* C3* base orange orange slip
   Hayes' palm branch motif 2. Fabric 3.
7. P1602 C6* base red brown brown slip
   Lightly impressed Hayes whirl-fringed concentric circle motif 36. Fabric 3.
8. P1444* C6* bd 10.0 red red slip
   Hayes' concentric circle motif 29. Base marked by rise in floor of bowl. Base is contracted. Fabric 3.
9. P3662* C9 bd 9.0 orange dark orange slip
   Hayes' whirl-fringed concentric circle motif 37. Fabric 3.
10. P1219 C6* bd 8.0 red red orange slip
   Strongly impressed Hayes whirl-fringed concentric circle

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[103] C869 and C870 are particularly close parallels, cf. Deneauve, *AntAfr* 6 (1972), Pls. I and II (pp. 228-229).

motif 36 u. Base marked by rise in floor of bowl. Fabric 3.

11. P1394 C5* bd 9.0 red red slip
Edge only of Hayes' concentric circle motif 29. Base marked by rise in floor of bowl. Fabric not identified.

12. P1642 C5* bd 9.0 red red slip
Edge of Hayes' whirl-fringed concentric circle motif, 32-36. Groove at diameter of base on floor of bowl. Coarse Fabric 3 as P1332.

13. P1373 C9 bd 9.0 red orange red brown slip
Hayes' concentric circle motif 29. Fabric 3.

14. P0024 NS bd 9.5 dull red orange slip
Hayes' whirl-fringed concentric circle motif 37. Fabric 3.

15. P0029 NS bd 8.5 orange light orange slip
Motif as P0024. Fabric 3.

Hayes Form 62 B

There are three bases in Hayes Form 62 B.[104] The first two examples are in 'terra sigillata chiara C'; i.e., 'C2'. The fabric of the third piece is a coarse version of Fabric 3, similar to P0631, a coarse example of the small flared bowl form.

1. P1153* NS bd 35.0 red red slip

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[104] The form does not have an equivalent in Lamboglia's numbering system.

Depression beyond diameter of base ring on the interior, carefully defined applied flat base ring on exterior.

2. P0628 NS bd 35.0 orange orange slip
   Flat applied base ridge, fine double groove on outer side of base ridge.
3. P0632 C7 bd 31.5 brick red red slip
   A fragment of the plain rim of this piece was also found. Groove on floor at 23.0 cms diameter.

One of these examples of Form 62 B was dated by Hayes to the middle or late fourth century A.D.

Hayes Form 64

There are three examples of Form 64 on the San Giovanni site. The form is a wide low bowl with a fairly steep wall and plain rim; the profile of the bowl is generally similar to Form 61 A, but the rim is plain. Hayes knew of no direct dating evidence for this form in *Late Roman Pottery*; however, he assigned it generally to the mid fifth century A.D.[105] As this dating was no doubt in relation to other forms of that suggested date, revisions to a lower date of Form 61 may affect Form 64 as well.

One piece, P3731, is nearly a complete profile. The fabric of this form at San Giovanni is quite coarse and hard, with a well-adhering dark red orange slip on the interior and over the rim; I class it as Fabric 6, one of the undifferentiated D fabrics.

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[105] Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), p. 111.

1. P3365 C3* bd 11.0 dark orange dark orange slip

    Floor of base has groove at 9.0 cms diameter and depression beyond.

2. P1220 C6* rd 28.0 red red orange slip

3. P3731 NS rd 26.0 orange dark orange slip
    bd 14.0

    Double ridge at 12.0 cms diameter on interior floor.

Hayes Form 76

There is one certain example of Form 76 on the site. Form 76 is a shallow bowl with a wide flared rim that has a knobbed edge. Form 76 was found in contexts of the third quarter of the fifth century A.D. at the Athenian Agora. P3100* preserves only the rim and not the wall of the bowl. Another piece, which is quite different, but was noted by Hayes as related to Form 76, is P3019; the rim is finished with a heavy rounded knob. In *Late Roman Pottery*, Hayes said that the fabric of this form was a later version of LRB(ii) (SG Fabric 3);[104] however, I class both of the San Giovanni pieces as Fabric 6. They are in an identical very coarse D fabric with grog among the varied inclusions.

1. P3100* C8 rd 30.0 orange dark orange slip

    Two grooves in interior wall below rim.

2. P3019 C9 rd 27.0 orange thick matte red
    orange slip

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[104] Cf. *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), p. 292.

This fabric wears like the A/D fabric, chipping away in pits.

Hayes Forms 82 and 84

Forms 82 and 84 are considered by Hayes to be late examples in the 'sigillata chiara C' fabric of Lamboglia; that is, either Carandini's C2 or C3. Although both examples at San Giovanni were very worn, the hard fine light-colored body is in fact most like Fabric 1 (C2). In form they are revolutionary changes from the earlier forms from Byzacena. Both forms have a grooved vertical rim and bear rouletting on the exterior wall. Form 82 is very shallow and Form 84 is comparatively deeper, but still essentially a wide shallow bowl. Forms 82 and 84 can be dated by deposits in the Athenian Agora to c. 460-475 A.D. Both forms are very common in Agora deposits of this date, and do not occur in other dated contexts.

1. P0812* NS rd 23.0 brick red orange slip
   Shallow wall denotes Form 82; thickened rim is formed of double round separated by double grooves; field of vertical rouletting on exterior wall.
2. P0844 MII rd 21.0 orange orange slip
   Slightly steeper wall denotes Form 84; rim and rouletting as P0812*.

Hayes Form 86

The form is a wide low bowl on a high footring base; the vertical lipped rim bears heavy grooves. Hayes dated it to the late fifth and early sixth centuries A.D.

One very worn example of this form was found at San Giovanni; the fabric is similar to Fabric 1, like that of the San Giovanni examples of Hayes Forms 82 and 84, but seems softer, perhaps because it is so worn.

1. P1092* NS rd 24.0 pink orange worn pink orange surface

Strongly defined angle on interior below rim.

Hayes Form 87 C

There are five examples of Hayes Form 87 C on the San Giovanni site. The form is a wide low bowl with knobbed rim and applied low base ring. The base is evidently about one third the rim diameter. The examples of the form all have slightly thick walls, averaging between 0.6 and 0.7 cms. Hayes suggests a date in the early part of the sixth century A.D. for this form, since it occurs in a deposit with an end date of 526 A.D. at Antioch.[107] The distribution of the examples at San Giovanni suggest a date in the middle and second half of the fifth century A.D.

The fabric of Form 87 C on the San Giovanni site is coarse and brown; a thin red slip that has an almost metallic shine is applied to the interior and over the rim. On one example, the slip has irregularly dripped on the wall below the rim. On another example, the slip varies in color over burnishing rounds; that is, light pressure lines deliberately built out in increasing rounds on the wheel as the bowl was being finished.

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[107] Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), p. 136.

Hayes seems to link this fabric with the A/D fabric of Carandini. While Form 87 C has thick walls and the fabric is coarse like the A/D fabric, with a tendency to be relatively soft, the quality of the slip seems much different. I prefer to class it as Fabric 6, one of the undifferentiated D fabrics.

The San Giovanni examples are as follows:

1. P1563* C6* rd 33.5 brown liquid red slip
   Fabric is fairly fine.
2. P1654 C12* bd 13.0 red orange slip
   Very attractive effect from burnishing in interior of bowl; narrow rounds vary in color from red orange to pink where the surface is comparatively rough. Hayes linked this base with P1563*; the fabrics are similar.
3. P3006 C9 rd 20.0 red orange red orange slip
   The rim diameter is almost surely incorrect.
4. P3621* C8 rd 32.5 dark orange orange slip
   Traces of sharply shiny burnishing on interior.
5. P3160* C12* rd 31.0 orange red orange slip
   bd 9.0
   A separate base and rim exist for P3160*, but only the

base was drawn. The rim is almost identical to P1563*.

Wide Shallow Bowl with Rounded Vertical Rim

There are three examples of an unidentified form, a wide very shallow bowl with vertical rim which bears rouletting on the entire preserved exterior surface of two of the examples. The fabric of this form is not certainly identified as African Red Slip. It is dull orange in color, fine and hard with minute white inclusions; and the color of the slip is notably darker than the color of the body. Hayes felt that the fabric of these pieces could belong to the late fifth or early sixth century A.D.

All three pieces come from Midden II, a context which is not related to the stratigraphic analysis and includes fine wares ranging in date from the mid-fourth to the late fifth centuries A.D.

1. P0849* MII rd 32.0 dark orange worn red brown slip
   Wall almost at right angles to rim, slipped and rouletted on exterior.
2. P0839 MII rim orange brick red slip
   Slip on exterior.
3. P0843 MII rim orange orange slip
   Slip on interior.

Hayes Form 91

Hayes Form 91 is a flanged bowl. Hayes has differentiated sub-classes of this form, of which Forms 91 B and 91 C appear on the San Giovanni site. An odd variant listed here is similar in profile to Form 91 D, but is earlier than that form judging by its context.

The fabric of the San Giovanni examples of Form 91 is fairly uniform. The paste is somewhat coarse, the fabric somewhat hard-fired. Although Hayes has tentatively linked the fabric of Form 91 with the Oudna forms 96, 97 and 99, the pieces from San Giovanni do not seem to demonstrate any such relationship. They fall between Fabric 1 and Fabric 3 and cannot conclusively be identified with either.

The dating of Form 91 B has been revised by Hayes. He now dates the form to the first half of the fifth century A.D.[108] He dated Form 91 C to the first half of the sixth century A.D.;[109] Form 91 C appears in destruction contexts of Period III and in topsoil at San Giovanni, which tends to confirm the dates Hayes suggested.

P3400 and P1013 are examples of Form 91 B; the flange of this form is wide and curved and set quite high on the exterior wall of the bowl.

1. P3400 C7 rd 20.0 light red red brown slip

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[108] Hayes, *Supplement* (1980), pp. 516-517, and J. W. Hayes, "North African Flanged Bowls: A Problem in Fifth Century Chronology", in *Roman Pottery Studies in Britain and Beyond: Papers Presented to John Gillam, July 1977*, (*British Archaeological Reports*, Suppl. Series 30, Oxford, 1977), pp. 279-287.

[109] Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), p. 144.

2. P1013 NS rd 28-35 pink orange thin orange slip
Large variant of Form 91 B.

3. P3049 NS ws brick red red slip
This wall sherd has very large-scale feather rouletting on its interior; it came from a large variant of Form 91 B like P1013.

P1566* and P1346* are a rim and a base of Form 91 C; it is quite possible that they are actually from the same bowl. The flange of Form 91 C is set lower on the wall, and the feather rouletting on the lower interior wall is also typically a restricted band, as on P1346*.

4. P1566* C13* rd 17.0 red red slip
Nicely made piece.

5. P1346* C14 bd 5.5 red orange worn orange slip
Band of feather rouletting around lower interior wall.

P1194* may not actually belong with this group, although in form it is certainly similar to Hayes' examples of Form 91 D. It is burnished in rounds on the interior; its unusual color may indicate that it has been burned.

6. P1194* C9 rd 17.0 dull brown brown slip
Color on this sherd varies from orange to dark grey brown. Burnishing lines over top of flange and on interior wall.

Hayes Form 96

Hayes Form 96 is one of a series, with Forms 97 and 99, of small deep bowls with foot ring bases from the workshop at Oudna in Zeugitana. These forms clearly mark a new era in the manufacture of African Red Slip, as they cannot be seen as evolving directly from the wide flat-bottomed bowls of the early fifth century A.D. Form 96 has a wide horizontal or slightly drooping rim.

It is symptomatic of how unfixed the dates of these forms have been that, while Hayes dated them to c. 500 A.D.,[110] Février slightly earlier dated the context in which he discovered a fine example of Form 96 to the middle of the fourth century A.D.[111] Hayes had noted that one example of Form 96 carried a stamp clearly related to a similar stamp on his Form 84.5, which is dated c. 460-475 by its find context in the Athenian Agora. Despite this tie, however, Hayes originally dated Form 96 fifty years later than Forms 82 and 84.[112] In fact, the date of the form is most likely contemporary to Form 99; that is, it first appears in the second half of the fifth century A.D.

There are two fragments of rim of this form at San Giovanni. Both of the San Giovanni examples have rouletting on the top of the rim. An imitation of Form 96 in an elegantly crafted piece of painted common ware occurs in Context 12*.[113] Although the African Red Slip examples of Form 96 are in unstratified surface material, the imitation was found in a context which is dated by several examples of Form 99.

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[110] *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), pp. 150, 151, 155.

[111] P.-A. Fevrier, "Rémarques préliminaires sur la céramique romaine d'Afrique du Nord", *Rivista di Studi Liguri* 29 (1963), p. 132. See also his *Fouilles de Sétif: Les Basiliques Chrétiennes du Quartier Nord-ouest*, (CNRS, Paris, 1965).

[112] *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), p. 298.

1. P1241 NS rd 29.0 orange orange slip

   P1241 is a small rim fragment. The form and the lines of rouletting seem identical to an example published by Février from Sitifis, *RSL* (1963), p. 132, fig. 10. His example has a rim diameter of 18.0 cms; the rim diameter estimated for the San Giovanni fragment is probably incorrect. Fabric 5.

2. P1811 C14 rim red brown red brown slip

   Rim fragment only; rouletting on top of rim. Fabric 5.

Hayes Form 97

Hayes Form 97 is another of the Oudna series of small deep bowls with high footring bases. Form 97 has a wide horizontal polygonal rim. These forms all have similar fabric, form and date. There are two examples of this form at San Giovanni, of which *P1647** has a complete profile, but no sign of stamped decoration. The first two pieces may actually be from the same bowl. The polygonal sides of the rim are straight, whereas the edges of the rim of *P1647** describe slight concave curves.

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[113] For details, see Form 31, P1656*, in Chapter VI, "Late Roman Painted Common Ware", pp. 240-241.

The San Giovanni examples are fairly consistent in fabric. The fabric of P1097 is not as hard as that of P1647, but they are alike in being fine rather than coarse with small white and dark inclusions. In P1647 particularly, the white inclusions look like fragments of shell.

1. P1097 C6* rd 17.0 red red brown slip
   Groove just along upper inside edge of rim, outer edge of rim is beveled. Fabric 5.
2. P1647* MII rd 18.5 red orange red brown slip
   bd 10.0
   Groove along upper inside edge of rim and following wide outer curves of polygonal rim. Fabric 5.

Hayes Form 99 B

Form 99, as well as Forms 96 and 97, both of which also occur on the San Giovanni site, belongs to the production of the potter's workshop at Oudna, near Carthage in northern Tunisia. Form 99 is clearly related to Forms 96 and 97, in shape as well as in fabric and place of manufacture.

Hayes differentiates Form 99 A from 99 B; the earlier type has a relatively wider base, with a diameter greater than half that of its rim, while the later type has a base with diameter less than half that of the rim. All the examples of Form 99 from San Giovanni have a rim diameter just about double the diameter of the base; they are approximately equivalent to Hayes' earliest example of Form 99 B.[114]

In general, the Oudna forms (96, 97 and 99) carry a simple stamped decoration on the interior base. Only one example of such stamped decoration from the San Giovanni site survives. The piece is an example of Form 99 B; and the stamp type, according to Hayes' classification, is an example of type 'E(i)/(ii)'.

The dating of Form 99, like that of other forms that Hayes originally dated to the sixth century A.D., has been revised downward. Form 99 was originally dated to the fourth century A.D. by Lamboglia;[115] Hayes may have over-reacted against an obviously too early date and placed a group of late fifth century forms quite a bit too late.[116] The major influence in lowering the date of Form 99 is the occurence of this form in destruction levels of 468/469 A.D. at Conimbriga.[117] This discovery indicates that the form certainly dates to the second half of the fifth century A.D., but it cannot be dated more closely within that period.

The examples of Form 99 B from San Giovanni are very consistent in profile, size and fabric (Fabric 5). The fabric is very hard and fine with small white inclusions which look like bits of shell; minute mica is also present. There are eight examples of the form at San Giovanni, of which seven are rims. Two pieces, _P3483_* and _P3211_* are complete profiles; this is quite unusual at San Giovanni.

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[114] In his sequence, 99.13; Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), fig. 28 (p. 154).

[115] Cf. Lamboglia, *RSL* 29 (1963), pp. 184-185; his Form 1 is equivalent to Hayes Form 99.

[116] Cf. Hayes, "North African Flanged Bowls" (1977), p. 283.

[117] *Conimbriga IV* (1975), p. 266, 270, 278 and pl. LXXIII, nos. 111-115. The published examples from Conimbriga do not include bases.

1. P1570 C13* rd 18.0 red red slip

   A base diameter of 9.5 cms is estimated.

2. _P3483_* C12* rd 18.0 orange orange slip
   bd 10.0

3. _P3211_* C12* rd 17.5 orange red orange slip
   bd 9.5

   The piece has a cross stamp in the base. The motif is a small broad Greek cross with a double outline. In the center of the cross there is a small circle within a diamond with convex sides. The exact motif is not recorded in _Late Roman Pottery_, but it is most like Hayes stamp type E(i)/(ii) cross motifs 319 and 320.

4. P3142 C12* rd 16.0 orange orange slip

   A base diameter of less than 9.0 cms is estimated.

5. P3212 C12* bd 9.0 orange orange slip

   P3212 may be the base of P3142.

6. P3325 C12* rd 19.0 orange orange slip

   A base diameter of less than 10.0 cms is estimated.

7. P3110 C12* rd 19.5 orange orange slip

   A base diameter of one half the rim is estimated.

8. P1562 C13* rd 19.5 pink orange worn red orange slip

Hayes Form 12/102

Form 12/102 is a small globular bowl, almost a goblet, with a relatively high ring base, which somewhat recalls the base of the Oudna series.[118] The fabric is quite coarse and hard, the slip very hard and shiny. Like the form, it has much in common with the Oudna production, and seems best classed with Fabric 5.

This form, like Form 99, also appears quite commonly at Conimbriga; it is therefore contemporary with Form 99 and belongs to the second half of the fifth century A.D.

A single certain example of this form occurs on the San Giovanni site. A second piece, an extremely tiny base, also has much in common with this form, as well as with the bases of the Oudna form series.

1. P0811* NS rd 10.0 orange orange slip

   As much of the wall as is preserved is slipped.

2. P3131 C12* bd 4.0 dark orange dark orange slip

D. African Red Slip Assemblages in Stratified Late Contexts

The African Red Slip horizon in each context is crucial to its date, except in those cases where Phocaean Red Slip in the context provides evidence for a later date. In every case where Phocaean Red Slip occurs in the context, it will be noted. Tables IV and V help to clarify the argument of this section.

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[118] Cf. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), p. 157 and fig. 28 and *Supplement* (1980), pp. 486-487.

Context 1 /c. 340 A.D.

This context is the material which dates the construction of the building of Late Period I in Zone 3. There is one piece of African Red Slip in the context, an example of Hayes Form 50 B in Fabric 1, P1702.

Context 2 /c. 340 A.D.

Context 2 is the material which dates the construction of Late Period I in Zone 2. There are two pieces of African Red Slip in this context, both examples of Hayes Form 50 B in Fabric 1, P0516* and P1842.

Context 3* /c. 375 A.D./

Context 3* includes material from the destruction of Late Period I sealed under the accumulation of occupation material of Late Period II. There are eleven pieces of African Red Slip in this context, including two examples of Form 50 B in Fabric 1, P1515* and P1823. A third example of Form 50 B is in Fabric 4 (P1540*). The example of Form 52 B, P3077*, occurs in this context. There is one example of Form 61 A in Fabric 2 with a carinated rim and completely uncontracted base, P3360*. A rim, P3313*, and a base, P1603, of an example of Form 61 B in Fabric 2 with carinated rim and slightly contracted base, also appear. A rim of the type of Form 61 B in Fabric 3 which is the typical version of this form at San Giovanni, P3408*, first appears in this context. The particular example is very well-made, with a sharp profile and relatively thin walls. Two stamped bases also appear. The first, P3442*, is the only clear example at San Giovanni of a base of Hayes stamp type A(i); it is in Fabric 2. The second, P3588*, is too fragmentary to predict the size of the base, but the layout of the stamped palm leaves links it to the group of stamps which are akin to the version of Form 61 B in Fabric 3 which is characteristic of San Giovanni. The last piece, P3365, is the base of an example of Form 64. Clearly, Form 50 B in Fabric 1 and Form 61 A and B in Fabric 2 dominate this context.

Context 4 **c. 375 A.D.?**

Context 4, defined as floor material of Period II in Room 7, has one piece of African Red Slip, the stamped base P3662*. P3662* is a contracted stamped base with the whirl-fringe motif grouped in the base in the way that is typical of a group of stamped bases which I have linked to the characteristic version of Form 61 B in Fabric 3 on the San Giovanni site. Given that a similar base and the associated rim appears in the theoretically earlier Context 3*, the appearance of this base in this context agrees with its proposed date. The painted common ware is of a type which is never otherwise associated with such an early context, however, indicating that in fact it was later disturbed.

Context 5* **/c. 375-c. 425 A.D./**

Lower Midden I has twenty pieces of African Red Slip. It is a sealed context and the pieces in it have a remarkable consistency. One of the most interesting things about this context is the way it contrasts with Context 3*, which immediately underlies it.

The context is characterized by the dominance of Forms 53 B in Fabric 4 and 61 B in Fabric 3. There are three examples of Form 53 B, P1419*, P1553* and P1399. There is one example of Form 61 A in Fabric 2 with carinated rim and completely uncontracted base, P1400*. A second piece is an example of Form 61 B in Fabric 2 with a carinated rim and slightly contracted base, P1407. In contrast, there are *nine* examples of the version of Form 61 B in Fabric 3 with knobbed rim and sharply carinated base. Three stamped bases occur in this context. One piece, P1421, in Fabric 2, has its netted circle motifs inside a zone marked off with grooves, away from the center of the floor. The other two pieces, P1394 and P1642, are sharply contracted bases which bear the concentric circle and whirl-fringe motifs respectively, grouped on the center of the floor in the way that is typical at San Giovanni; it is therefore linked to the characteristic version of Form 61 B which is also common in this context.

The remaining three pieces in the context are small flared bowls, all slightly anomalous. P1547* and P1550 do not fit into Hayes' typology well. Both have burnished interiors. P1408* is a variant of Form 80 B, with a flat band applied around the rim.

Context 6* /c. 425-c. 460 A.D./

Upper Midden I has twenty-three African Red Slip bowls. It is also the earliest context to include Phocaean Red Slip. The earliest pieces in the context almost exactly repeat the horizon in Context 5*, which immediately underlies Context 6* and is only separated from it by a thin layer of lime.

There are five joins between the two contexts. (All the pieces which have joins to Upper Midden I are listed with Lower Midden I, since that is the earliest context for which the piece is attested.) The joins involve one example of Form 53 B (P1399), three examples of the San Giovanni variant of Form 61 B (P1360, P1561 and P1264*) and a stamped base in Fabric 2, P1421. These pieces are evidently the latest pieces to be deposited in Lower Midden I and/or the earliest in Upper Midden I; that is, they can be dated to 425 A.D.

There are four new examples of Form 53 B in Upper Midden I; P1333, P1371, P1724 and P1449. There is an example of a completely uncontracted base (Form 61 A) in Fabric 2, P1254. There are three examples of Form 61 B with carinated rim and slightly contracted base in Fabric 2; P1096*, P1196 and P1579. There are five examples of the version of Form 61 B which is characteristic of San Giovanni; P1247*, P1462*, P1448*, P1173 and the base P1445. Given the fact that pieces which are made up of joined finds from Lower Midden I and Upper Midden I have been assigned to the earlier context, the evidence implies that this version of the form is equally common in either time period.

There are four stamped bases in Upper Midden I. One, P1332*, is an uncontracted base in a soft version of Fabric 6. The other three are contracted bases in Fabric 3 with large stamps grouped simply in the center of the floor, the stamp style which is characteristic of the site; the pieces are P1219, P1444* and P1602.

The San Giovanni variant of Form 58 first appears in this context. The two examples, P1286* and P1578*, are both in Fabric 2. The fabric, whether in Forms 58, 61 A, or 61 B, is clearly linked to the contexts of Period II at San Giovanni and to the period between 375 and 460 A.D. There is no good reason to posit that these pieces are residual.

Of the four remaining pieces, one is an example of Form 64 (P1220), and another is most likely an example of Form 80 B (P1460). Finally there are two pieces which can unequivocally be identified as later than the other pieces of African Red Slip in the context. The first is an example of Form 87 C, P1563*. The second is a variant of Form 97, the Oudna form with a polygonal horizontal rim. P1097 has straight rather than curved sides to its rim, and the width of the horizontal rim is rather narrow. It is perhaps an early version of Form 97, according to Hayes, but it still seems best to date both of these forms no earlier than 450 A.D.

Context 7 **c. 340-c. 460 A.D.**

Context 7 is unsealed destruction material from Late Period I and occupation material of Period II. One piece of early Phocaean Red Slip occurs in this context and there are seven identifiable pieces of African Red Slip. The earliest is an example of Form 50 B in Fabric 1. Three pieces are examples of Form 50 B or 80 B; one, P0631, is most likely an example of Form 50 B, P0630* is difficult to classify either way, and P1447 seems most like Form 80 B. The distribution underlines the difficulty of making the distinction between rims of Form 50 B or 80 B. Another piece, P1031, is an example of Form 53 B, in a slightly coarse version of Fabric 4. A base of Form 62 B, P0632, also appears. P3400 is an example of Form 91 B. While the African Red Slip might suggest a date as early as 400 A.D., other material in the context is later.

Context 8 **c. 460 A.D./**

The material in this context dates the construction of the *praetorium* of Period III in Zone 3. Phocaean Red Slip appears in this context. The eight pieces of African Red Slip cover the range of the ware typical of Late Period I and II, possibly because a building of Late Period I was demolished to build the *praetorium*.

The earliest pieces are three examples of Form 50 B, one in Fabric 1 (P0481) and two in Fabric 3 (P1565 and P3584). There was a small flared bowl most like Form 50 B in Fabric 3, P1716; and another small flared bowl which seemed better identified as Form 80 B, P3288. The example of Form 61 B in this context was anomalous: P3814* has a carinated rim, a slightly contracted base, and is in Fabric 3 rather than the expected Fabric 2. The two remaining pieces are contemporary to or later than the Phocaean Red Slip in the context. They are an example of Form 76, P3100*, and an example of Form 87 C, P3621*. They indicate that the late date for the context is exactly similar to that of Upper Midden I, and is not before 450 A.D.

Context 9 /c. 460 + A.D.

Material in Context 9 dates the remodelling of Room 5 in Zone 2 or other Period III construction there. There is no Phocaean Red Slip in this context.

There are seven pieces of African Red Slip. The earliest pieces are two examples of Form 53 B, P1575 and P1258*. There are two stamped contracted bases in Fabric 3: P1373 bears the concentric circle motif and P3662* uses the whirl-fringe motif. Both are in the stamp style typical of San Giovanni. The piece which resembles Form 91 D but has burnishing in the interior and over the rim, P1194*, appears in this context. P3019, which Hayes links to Form 76, appears here; and there is also a piece from this context joined to P3100*, the more typical example of Form 76 from the site. (P3100* is listed above, in Context 8.) Finally, there is an example of Form 87 C, P3006.

While the African Red Slip suggests that this context is exactly contemporary with Contexts 6* and 8; that is, the context does not close before 450 A.D., the painted common ware suggests a somewhat later date.

Context 10 **c. 460 + A.D.**

There is no African Red Slip in this context, which is unsealed walking surface in Period III in Zone 2.

Context 11 **c. 460 + A.D.**

Material in this context, which represents unsealed walking surface of Period III in Zone 3, included one piece of African Red Slip. The piece is an uncontracted stamped base, P0687, with a bit of looped motif visible at the break. On the San Giovanni site, the piece probably indicates a date c. 380 A.D., which reveals little about the late date of the context.

Context 12* **/c. 460-c. 530 A.D./**

Context 12* is Midden IV, the only midden of Period III which has a stratigraphic relationship to the late site. Phocaean Red Slip occurs in this context, but it is most interesting for the consistency shown in its ten examples of African Red Slip.

The context is characterized by the appearance of Forms 87 C and 99 B. The two examples of Form 87 C are P1654 and P3160*. P1654 has very clear spiral burnishing on its interior. There are six examples of Form 99 B in the context; *P3483**, *P3211**, P3142, P3325 and P3110 are rims. The base, P3212, may be part of the same bowl as P3142.

One of the two remaining pieces is an example of the San Giovanni variant of Hayes Form 58 in Fabric 2. The piece should be residual in this context, although it has the lowest percentage (1%) of residual pieces of any kind. The other piece is a tiny high footring base which may be an example of Form 102; it seems to be closely related to the Oudna series of bowls, including Form 99.

Context 13 /c. 530 A.D./

Destruction material of Period III includes a rather wide assortment of African Red Slip. The context also has the latest example of Phocaean Red Slip on the site.

The six pieces of late African Red Slip include some residual pieces. There is one example of Form 50 B in Fabric 1, P1278*; a small flared bowl as Form 50 B in Fabric 3, P2048; and an example of Form 61 B with carinated rim and slightly contracted base in Fabric 2, P2046*.

The remaining three pieces are an example of Form 91 C, P1566*; and two examples of Form 99 B, P1562 and P1570. The occurence of two examples of Form 99 B in the destruction context warns against setting an end date for the form before the date of the final abandonment of the site at the end of Period III.

Context 14 /c. 530 + A.D.

Context 14 is topsoil over the delimited area of the late site. Phocaean Red Slip occurs in this context, but the piece is not as late as the latest African Red Slip. There are five pieces of late African Red Slip in this context. The earliest is an example of the version of Form 61 B in Fabric 3 which is characteristic of the San Giovanni site

(P3340). There is a wall sherd from a large variant of Form 91 B, P3049. Another piece, P1346*, is a base of Form 91 C. It is possible that the rim P1566* in Context 13* is part of the same bowl. The remaining two pieces are fragments of rims of two examples of Form 96 (P1241 and P1811), a form for which there is no other evidence on the site. Form 96 is one of the Oudna series of bowls and can be considered contemporary to Form 99; that is, the latest African Red Slip dates to the second half of the fifth century A.D. or slightly later.

Midden II

Midden II, which includes occupation material of Period III, but cannot be related to the stratigraphic analysis of the late site, has an unusual assortment of African Red Slip. As I have mentioned before, the middens of Period III have distinctive pottery horizons and yet the known evidence for the date of the types in them does not suggest any relative order. There are eight pieces in the context.

The earliest pieces are an example of Form 53 B, P0837; an example of Form 50 B in Fabric 3, P0841; and a base of Form 80 B, P0846*. In all three cases, the fabric is at the coarse end of the range.

The context also includes an example of Form 84, P0844. (The example of Form 82 on the site comes from an undifferentiated layer in the immediate area.) *P1647**, the complete profile of Form 97, also comes from Midden II. Finally, all three examples of a new form, the wide shallow bowl with rounded vertical rim (P0839, P0843 and P0849*), appear in this context. At present, one can only say that the midden was deposited at some time between 460 and 530 A.D.

Midden III

Midden III is another midden deposit of Period III. One of the most interesting things about this midden is that it contains no African Red Slip among its thousand sherds. It does have two pieces of Phocaean Red Slip, both possibly from one bowl, which suggests a date in the second half of the fifth century A.D.

One hundred and five pieces of late African Red Slip appear in stratified contexts of the late site. There are twenty-nine additional pieces, also listed above, that occur outside of stratigraphically meaningful contexts.

E. Conclusions on Typology and Chronology

A number of useful conclusions can be derived on the individual forms and fabrics of late African Red Slip at San Giovanni, as follows:

Form 50 B:

The form is certainly associated with the second half of the fourth century A.D., as Hayes has stated. Stratified examples at San Giovanni are concentrated in Contexts 1, 2 and 3*, contexts of Period I of the late site. The contrast between the distribution of San Giovanni examples of Form 50 B with that of Forms 61 A and 53 B as well as the contrast in the distribution of the associated 'Fabric 1' versus that of Fabrics 2 and 4 suggests that the form ends c. 380 A.D.

Small Flared Bowl as Form 50 B or 80 B:

There are surprisingly few stratified examples by which to check the date of this type. The occurence of P1408*, identified by Hayes as a variant of Form 80, in Lower Midden I (Context 5*) indicates an early date for the form c. 400 A.D., which confirms Hayes' revised dating of Form 80 B.

Small Bowl with Burnished Interior

Burnishing on the interior walls of African Red Slip occurs on the small flared bowl P1550, on the small bowl with horizontal rim P1547*, and on another odd small bowl which is somewhat similar to Form 91 D, P1194*. The first two of these occur in Lower Midden I (Context 5*), which represents early occupation of Period II. A similar treatment occurs on two pieces of painted common ware, P1410 in Context 5* and P1231 in Context 6*, which are probably contemporary. Examples of this decoration in African Red Slip and painted common ware around the end of the late fourth century A.D. are found in the same contexts with a very common simple coarse ware bowl form at San Giovanni which also has horizontal burnishing on its interior.[119] There is every indication that this decoration style is strongly associated with simple deep bowls of the late fourth century A.D.

Form 52 B:

The single example at San Giovanni is stratified in Context 3*, the destruction context of Period I. This form should also be considered to end c. 380 A.D.

Form 53 B:

Hayes' suggested dates of c. 370 to c. 430 A.D. for this form are strongly confirmed by eight stratified examples in the early and late contexts of Period II, and by the association with examples of Form 61 B. Of fourteen examples at San Giovanni, ten are stratified in contexts pre-dating the construction of Period III.

Form 58 Variant:

This variant may have a quite different history from the ordinary version of Form 58; certainly its date is not strictly fourth century. The fact that it appears in the same fabric (A/D) as a number of examples of Form 61, especially the version of Form 61 B with carinated rim and slightly contracted base, suggests that it is contemporary with that form. On the other hand, two of four examples are stratified in Context 6* (Upper Midden I); and that is the earliest context in which it appears, suggesting that it dates c. 425 A.D.

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[119] There are forty-four stratified examples of this type of bowl on the San Giovanni site; see Table III.

Form 61:

The San Giovanni site contributes a good deal of new information to the understanding of this form and confirms Hayes' revised dating for Forms 61 A and B. The two fabrics in which Form 61 B occurs on the site are essentially contemporary.

Form 61 A with Carinated Rim and Wide Base in Fabric 2

This form appears once in Context 3*, 5* and 6*. Essentially, it seems to end c. 380 A.D. as Hayes has suggested.

Form 61 B with Carinated Rim and Slightly Contracted Base in Fabric 2

The form appears in Contexts 3* and 5*, but is most common in Context 6*. It seems to appear later than Form 61 A; and there is nothing to contradict Hayes' understanding that the form continues to c. 425 A.D., and dies out shortly after.

Form 61 B with Knobbed Rim and Strongly Contracted Base in Fabric 3

This version of Form 61 B is a good deal more common on the San Giovanni site than the preceding variant. One example appears in Context 3*, but the Form is dominant and equally numerous in Contexts 5* and 6*. It is essentially contemporary with the version of Form 61 B which is less common on the site. In both cases, the form is concentrated in contexts of Period II, and there are very few examples in certainly later contexts, again confirming that the form ends not much later than c. 425 A.D.

Form 62 B:

The three examples are in destruction levels or topsoil over Late Period I; their distribution in no way calls into question Hayes' suggested date in the second half of the fourth century A.D.

Form 64:

Two examples of this form are stratified in Contexts 3* and 6*, contexts of Late Periods I and II. The implication is that the form is contemporary with the whole sequence of Hayes Form 61.

Form 76:

The examples of this form are stratified in Context 8 (and 9), which predate the construction of Period III. This agrees very well with Hayes' originally suggested date for the form in the third quarter of the fifth century A.D.

Forms 82 and 84:

Forms 82 and 84 were also dated to the third quarter of the fifth century A.D. by the Agora deposits. Both pieces on the San Giovanni site occur in Midden II, which is not tied to the stratigraphic analysis of the site, but is certainly occupation material of Period III by the dates of the associated pottery.

Form 86:

The example from San Giovanni is not stratified.

Form 87 C:

The evidence for the date of this form from the San Giovanni site is quite useful. All five examples are stratified, the earliest in Context 6* (Upper Midden I), that is, in the latest occupation of Period II. Examples in Contexts 8 and 9 predate the construction of Period III; one of these appears in Zone 2 and the other in Zone 3. The remaining two examples were found in Context 12* (Midden

IV), and are there associated with the examples of Form 99 B in that context. This distribution implies that Form 87 C appears c. 450 A.D. and is characteristic of the second half of the fifth century.

Wide Shallow Bowl with Rounded Vertical Rim:

There are three examples of this new form, all concentrated in Midden II, which is not tied to the stratigraphic analysis of the site, but certainly is occupation material of Period III. The form can therefore be dated to the second half of the fifth or early sixth century A.D.

Form 91:

The examples of Form 91 B are not stratified, but are in destruction layers and topsoil which are partly associated with Late Period I. The rim and base of Form 91 C was found stratified with destruction material of Period III; this means the form could be as late as the early sixth century A.D. The piece tentatively identified as related to Form 91 D is stratified in Context 9, which predates the construction of Period III in Zone 2; that is, it is not later than 500 A.D. In fact, the line burnishing treatment links it to a group of bowls of the first quarter of the fifth century A.D.

Form 96:

Both fragments of this form were found in topsoil.

Form 97:

The example of this form with a relatively narrow straight-sided polygonal rim was stratified with later occupation material of Period II (Context 6*, Upper Midden I). This suggests that the form appears c. 450 A.D. The more typical example of the form appears in Context 12* (Midden IV), which is occupation material of Period III; but it cannot be dated more closely than the second half of the fifth century into the early sixth century A.D.

Form 99 B:

The most notable fact about the distribution of Form 99 B at San Giovanni is its concentration in Context 12* (Midden IV), where six of eight examples appear, and in Context 13*, destruction material of Period III. Its distribution unfortunately leaves the form with a wide possible range of dates; from the middle of the fifth to the early sixth century A.D. There is nothing in the San Giovanni distribution which disagrees with the dating of the form to the third quarter of the fifth century A.D. at Conimbriga.

Form 12/102:

The certain example at San Giovanni is unstratified. The tiny base appears in Context 12* (Midden IV) and confirms the observation at Conimbriga that the form is contemporary to Form 99.

Fabric 1:

Fabric 1 is associated with Forms 50 B, 52 B and 62 B in the second half of the fourth century A.D. The evidence at San Giovanni indicates that it goes into eclipse c. 380 A.D. While several later forms, especially Forms 82 to 86 appear in an essentially identical fabric in the mid-fifth century A.D., it seems unlikely that the manufacture of this fabric actually continued through the intervening half century.

Fabric 2:

Fabric 2 is associated with Form 58 variant, Form 61 A, and the version of Form 61 B with carinated rim and slightly contracted base. At San Giovanni it appears in the second half of the fourth century A.D. and it continues to c. 425 A.D. or slightly later. There is no evidence at San Giovanni that this or a related fabric appears significantly later.

Fabric 3:

Fabric 3 is particularly associated with Form 61 B with knobbed rim and strongly contracted base. Coarser variants of the fabric also appear in both large and small versions of Form 50 B, Form 61 B with carinated rim and slightly contracted base, Form 80 B, and possibly Forms 91 B and C. The great majority of examples of this fabric at San Giovanni are dated between c. 375 to c. 425 A.D. or slightly later.

Fabric 4:

Fabric 4 is strongly and almost exclusively associated with Form 53 B, although one example of Form 50 B appears in an undifferentiable fabric. Hayes has linked Forms 82-86 with this ware; examples of these forms at San Giovanni are too worn to make absolute judgments, but the fabric seems much more like Fabric 1 than Fabric 4. At San Giovanni the date of the fabric is exactly the same as the date of Form 53 B; that is, c. 370-c. 430 A.D.

Fabric 5:

Fabric 5 is the only African Red Slip fabric which has been tied to a workshop and the production of specific forms; namely, Forms 96, 97 and 99. It is a new fabric when it appears in Context 12*; it therefore first appears after c. 460 A.D. The evidence from the site cannot clarify the late date of either the forms or the fabric; the most likely date is c. 500 A.D. or slightly later.

Fabric 6:

Fabric 6 is actually a class made up of a number of related coarse African Red Slip fabrics. The earliest example of these undifferentiated D wares is P3365 (Form 64) in Context 3*. Other examples are the small deep bowl with horizontal rim (P1547*) and Forms 76 and 87 C. The broad class is generally characteristic of the fifth century A.D.

Judging by their date at San Giovanni, Fabrics 1 and 4 do form a continuum. The importation of Fabrics 1 to 4 to the site all end before the middle of the fifth century A.D., while Fabric 5 is introduced after the middle of the century. It seems that only the undifferentiated D fabrics may continue being produced throughout the fifth century A.D.

Hayes has made an exhaustive collection and analysis of forms in the North African wares, one which is in general more than adequate to classify the range of forms which were widely exported. Very few forms appeared at San Giovanni which are not in Hayes' typology. On the other hand, the finds at San Giovanni cast new light on his typology, even in the case of a form as common and widespread as Form 61.

The range of dates suggested in *Late Roman Pottery* for a particular form for which there was little or no direct stratified evidence was often very wide. New information gathered since 1972, in Hayes' *Supplement*, has resulted in revisions to the dates assigned to a number of forms. On the San Giovanni site, however, when Hayes offered his opinion on the likely date for a particular example of an identifiable form, the dates he suggested were often quite a bit narrower. Dates of individual pieces are determined by a combination of factors, including fabric, subtle characteristics of the profile, and associated pottery. The analysis of the contexts at San Giovanni expresses the factors Hayes took into consideration intuitively in more objective fashion.

While the African Red Slip is essentially the material that dates the late contexts, the horizon in each context also reciprocally gives a good deal of information about the dating of the forms and fabrics. In general, the grouping of forms and the relative chronological order provide an implicit check on and confirmation of Hayes' revised dating for the most common forms, as well as new evidence of date for forms for which he had no good stratigraphic evidence.

The contexts at San Giovanni are particularly useful for the forms and fabrics of the late fourth and fifth centuries A.D.; and San Giovanni provides especially valuable information on Forms 58, 61 and 87 C and on Fabric 2.

V. Phocaean Red Slip Ware

Given the absence of fifth and sixth century A.D. coins on the San Giovanni site, the dating of late period contexts is almost entirely dependent on the known late period fine wares. While examples of African Red Slip are the most common of the imported wares for the late period, 'Phocaean Red Slip' or 'Late Roman C' ware is of particular value in dating contexts of the second quarter of the fifth century, when it first begins to be exported to the western Mediterranean, into the sixth century A.D. Its importance as a dating tool is due to the definitive study made of the ware by J. W. Hayes in *Late Roman Pottery*.[120] In that work, Hayes described the fabric of the ware, set up a typology of forms, reviewed the dating evidence for the ware, and mapped its distribution.

F. O. Waage, working with material from the Athenian Agora and from Antioch, in the earliest important studies of the ware, named it 'Late Roman C' to differentiate it from the two major late fabrics he identified in African fine wares. Waage also worked out a tentative typology for the ware, with which the more complete typology of Hayes is in general agreement.[121]

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[120] J. W. Hayes, "'Late Roman C' Ware", *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), pp. 323-370. Hayes has since published a *Supplement to Late Roman Pottery*, (London, 1980): he has made no substantial changes in his original conclusions on the typology of the ware. He has noted, on the other hand, that the Conimbriga report (see below) necessitates the lowering of some of his suggested dates for forms in 'Phocaean Red Slip'.

The provenance of the ware has now been shown to be Phocaea in northern Ionia on the northwestern coast of Asia Minor; stacks of wasters of Hayes Form 3 C were found there, as well as several examples of individual rim sherds of Form 3 F/G.[122] Hayes therefore suggests renaming the ware 'Phocaean Red Slip' after its geographical provenance and fabric, and discontinuing the use of the comparatively uninformative term 'Late Roman C'.

No great number of examples of Phocaean Red Slip ware has been published, but the typology and dating of the ware has been tentatively established; and it is clear that, to be useful, further work must be related to stratigraphic evidence. Although the sample of thirty pieces of Phocaean Red Slip at San Giovanni is small, their appearance in stratified contexts and assemblages allows certain clarifications and improvements of the present understanding of the ware.

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[121] Cf. F. O. Waage in "The American Excavations in the Athenian Agora, First Report: The Roman and Byzantine Pottery", *Hesperia* II (1933), pp. 279-328, pls. VIII-X, and the chapter "Hellenistic and Roman Tableware of N. Syria", in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* IV, Pt. I, *Ceramics and Islamic Coins*, (Princeton, 1948), pp. 43-58 and pls. VII-XIII.

[122] The publication of these unidentified finds by E. Langlotz in "Beobachtungen in Phokaia", *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1969, pp. 379-81, is mentioned in Hayes' *Supplement* (1980), p. 525. Hayes had independently suggested a provenance in the area of northwestern Asia Minor, based on the distribution of finds in the ware; *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), p. 370.

A. Typology of Forms in Phocaean Red Slip

Hayes lists ninety examples of Phocaean Red Slip from sites around the eastern Mediterranean in his original study of the ware. Forty-three belong to his long-lived Form 3, the type which dominated the export production of the ware. In every example of Phocaean Red Slip ware on the San Giovanni site where the form is certainly identifiable, the piece belongs to the classification Hayes Form 3, so that essentially only Form 3 is relevant to the site.

While Hayes Form 3 has characteristic traits which make its identification relatively easy, it has a very long life of about one hundred and fifty years. It first appears at some time in the first half of the fifth century A.D. and evolves into Hayes' Form 10 around the middle of the sixth century A.D. For the form to be useful as a dating tool, subtypes must be distinguished within it.

According to Hayes' description of its evolution, Form 3, which first appears as an open bowl with a carinated vertical rim (3 A), develops a more and more exaggerated overhang of the rim (3 B, 3 C, 3 D). An offset subsequently appears under the overhanging rim (3 E) and in still later pieces the rim has become lower and the overhang and offset wider (3 F, 3 G, 3 H).

While the general sequence of these stages is valid, many of the San Giovanni rims could not easily be classified by Hayes' subgroups. Delgado notes the same difficulty in the Conimbriga study.[123] There is simply too much variation in Form 3 rims, especially in early pieces related to subtypes B, C and D, to classify new finds confidently on the basis of Hayes' descriptions and drawn examples. Clear parallels to Hayes Forms 3 A, B and D are not found at San Giovanni, but rims which are generally comparable to Forms 3 C, E and F do appear. There are no examples of Forms 3 G or 3 H on the site.

B. Typology of Rims in Phocaean Red Slip from San Giovanni

Thirty examples of Phocaean Red Slip have been excavated on the San Giovanni site, none complete. These pieces were identified on the basis of form and fabric.

I have classed the San Giovanni rims in four types on the basis of their rim profiles. These four types are related to earlier sequences as follows:

SG Rim Type 1	Hayes 3 A?, B? and C	Waage 940, 941f, 941k
SG Rim Type 2	Hayes 3 E	Waage 943
SG Rim Type 3	Hayes 3 E/F	Waage 944f
SG Rim Type 4	Hayes 3 F	Waage 944f, 946f

Inasmuch as possible, I have sequenced the rims according to the developmental outline proposed by Hayes, checked with the sequence previously published by Waage.[124]

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[123] *Conimbriga IV*, (1975), p. 287. The excavation report has a very important section on Phocaean Red Slip ware from that site.

SG Rim Type 1: Hayes Forms 3 A?, B?, *C*

San Giovanni Type 1 in Phocaean Red Slip is an open bowl with a convex vertical rim which has a rounded profile and forms an increasingly pronounced carination with the wall of the bowl. Six of these rims were originally incorrectly classed as possible imitations on the basis of their soft worn light orange fabric;[125] The pieces are designated with the label 'I' in the following list.

1. P1455* C6* rd 28.0 light orange trace of orange slip
   'I'. Anomalous rim profile, rim out of round.
2. P3359 C8 rd 25.0 light orange no slip
   'I'. Worn, slightly shattered surface.
3. P3044* C14 rd 31.0 orange dark red slip
   Slip flaking away in patches.
4. P1116* C6* rd 30.0 orange no slip
5. P3358 C8 rd 29.0 light orange dark red slip, no slip on rim
   'I'.

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[124] Waage's chronological sequence for 'Late Roman C' pieces classed as 'Form 3' by Hayes is illustrated by figures *940*, *941f*, *941k*, *943*, *944f*, 944p, 944u, 945, *946f*, 946k, 947a, 947k and 947u in *Antioch IV* (1948), pl. XI (cf. p. 53). I found the italicized types to be relevant to pieces found at the San Giovanni site. It is difficult to differentiate between his types 941f and 941k. Hayes considers these two pieces equivalent to his Forms 3 B and 3 C respectively; cf. *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), p. 329.

[125] See discussion of fabric, below.

6. P3361 C8 rd 28.0 orange no slip

'I'.

7. P3567 C7 rd 19.0 orange red slip

8. P1463* C6* rd 28.0 dull red worn red orange slip

Slip flaking off in patches.

9. P1567 C8 rd 28.0 orange, light orange rim worn red slip

Unusually soft fine fabric.

10. P0840* MII rd. 27.0 light orange worn redbrown slip

Rouletting on vertical rim.

11. P1187 C6* rd 24.0 orange no slip

'I'. Mica in fabric.

12. P3692 C8 rd 22.0 light orange no slip

'I'. Trace of rouletting on vertical rim.

13. P3624 rd 21.0 dull brown brown slip, red rim

Interior darkened by fire damage.

The assignment of a form classification following Hayes to many of these pieces is problematic. I have found no good comparanda for P1455* or P3359; since their vertical rims join the wall of the bowl to form a carination rather than overhanging it, they might be classified as variants of Form 3 A in Hayes' system. Most of the pieces are closest to Hayes Form 3 C.[124] P3044* and P1116* resemble Waage's 941f and Hayes' drawn examples of Form 3 B, but they do not fit

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[124] See especially Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), fig. 67.7 (p. 330).

Hayes' general description of Form 3 B. Hayes identified P0840* as Form 3 B/C. I am at a loss to fix subclasses which are adequately definitive. No relative temporal value can be placed on the sequence.

SG Rim Type 2: Hayes Form 3 E

Type 2 has a more angular profile, a wider overhang of the rim, and an undercut marked below the rim. The three examples of this form are hard-fired, and the sharpness of their profiles is completely preserved.

14.	P0836	MII	rd 23.0	orange to red	brick red slip, red brown rim
15.	P1580*	NS	rd 24.0	redbrown	dark red slip, mottled over rim

Regular horizontal smoothing marks on interior.

16.	P0704*	MIII	rd 22.0	red	dark red slip

P0836* is clearly an example of Hayes Form 3 E as is P1580*. P0704* has a low rim and tends toward the small version of the form Hayes classifies as Form 3 F.[127]

SG Rim Type 3: Hayes Form 3 E/F

The rim profile of Type 3 has become lower, tending to a triangular shape; and an undercut is pronouncedly present. This type shares the sharply angular quality of SG Type 2.

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[127] There are parallels for this piece among the Phocaean Red Slip at Conimbriga: cf. *Conimbriga IV*, Pl. LXXVIII, figs. 191-192.

17. P1655* C12* rd 16.0 red matte red slip, lighter rim

P1655* could be described as a small and delicate example of Hayes Form 3 F.

SG Rim Type 4: Hayes Form 3 F

Type 4 is a heavier and clumsier version of Type 3.

18. P0838* MII rd 17.5 orange worn red slip, redbrown rim

19. P3816* C13* rd 29.0 red thin matte red slip, brown rim

One additional rim, P0202, has not been drawn; there is an undercut under the rim, and the piece is therefore tentatively classed as SG Type 2 (Hayes Form 3 E).

20. P0202 rd 23.0 pinkish buff pinkish red slip

Hard fabric.

C. Stamps and Bases in Phocaean Red Slip from San Giovanni

There are four examples of Phocaean Red Slip base sherds with stamped decoration on the San Giovanni site. The first is an example of Hayes' 'Group II' of Phocaean Red Slip stamp types; they are animal stamps and include the hare motif of P0832*.[128] The San Giovanni piece is a hare (Hayes Motif 35 n), associated with a previously unclassified stamp which evidently represents a flower.

21. P0832* MII base brick red to dark red worn dark red slip

Clearly impressed stamp.

San Giovanni has also produced a cross stamp which Hayes classed with his Group III. The San Giovanni cross is comparable to Hayes Motifs 67 and 68.

22. P0733* MIII base brick red worn red slip

Clearly impressed stamp, smoothing rounds on exterior of sherd.

A possible human figure type may belong to Hayes' Group III.

23. P1005 NS base brick red red slip

Depressed edge of stamp only.

A fourth stamped base is in a fabric unlike the usual range in Phocaean Red Slip.[129] The stamp evidently represents the eye of an animal. Similar stamps have been published at Antioch and at Athens.[130]

24. P0833 MII base light orange worn redbrown slip

Lightly impressed stamp.

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[128] Cf. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), pp. 346-368 for stamps in Phocaean Red Slip.

[129] See discussion of the fabric of the ware below.

[130] Cf. Waage, *Antioch IV* (1948), fig. 33; also H. S. Robinson, *The Athenian Agora V: Pottery of the Roman Period, Chronology*, (Princeton, 1959), M350, p. 116.

Seven unstamped base fragments remain to be discussed. They are broken in such a way that it is impossible to say whether the pieces were originally stamped or not. In general, ordinary bases of Phocaean Red Slip *were* stamped. Of these pieces, one, P1255*, was diagnosed by Hayes as being a very early Form 3, or even a Form 1 or 2. No other piece of Phocaean Red Slip on the site is earlier than Hayes Form 3.

25. P1255* C6* bd 14.0 dull red matte red slip

The remaining bases are examples of Hayes Form 3:

26. P1464 C6* bd 15.0 red matte red slip, smooth orange red interior

27. P1972 NS bd 18.0 dull red worn red slip

Applied base ring with beveled edges.

28. P3104 C13* bd 13.0 brick red worn dark red matte slip

Three grooves in interior of base. Close parallel in Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), Form 3.14, fig. 68, p. 332.

29. P0796 NS bd 14.0 dark red no slip

Applied base ring, triangular in section.

30. P0809 NS bd 15.0 brick red no slip

Hayes suggested a date c. 500 A.D. for P0809.

D. Dating Evidence for Phocaean Red Slip

Hayes originally dated his Forms 3 B and C, which are approximately equivalent to San Giovanni Type 1, to the middle of the fifth century A.D., arguing mainly from dated deposits in the Athenian Agora. These forms are not present in deposits of c. 400 A.D. (Hayes Form 2 in Phocaean Red Slip does appear by this date), and they are well-established in deposits of c. 460/475. The date of their earliest appearance is therefore not closely defined. On his site visit in 1978, Hayes dated P1455* and P1463*, examples of SG Rim Type 1, before 450 A.D., partly because of their stratigraphic association with African Red Slip Forms 61 B and 53 B.

The existence of examples of Forms 3 C, D, E and F in Phocaean Red Slip ware in destruction contexts at the town of Conimbriga on the southwest coast of Portugal (contexts which have a historical terminus c. 468/469 A.D.), requires a slight lowering of early dates previously accepted for all these forms. Of ninety-five rims found at Conimbriga, half were examples of Hayes Form 3 B/C. Another thirty percent of the Conimbriga pieces were classified as examples of Form 3 E. Several pieces which are classified as 3 F are similar to San Giovanni Type 2 or 3. Only one of the published pieces from Conimbriga seems to be a true example of Form 3 F.[131]

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[131] The Conimbriga publication follows Hayes' classification of forms. Form 3 A = fig. 175, 3 B and C = figs. 176-185, D = 186(?), E = 187-189, F = 193(?). Cf. Delgado, *Conimbriga IV* (1975), p. 287 and pls. LXXVI-LXXVIII.

The finds from Conimbriga indicate that Hayes Forms 3 B and C (San Giovanni Type 1) were established before the middle of the fifth century A.D.; that is, they date c. 430-c. 450 A.D.

Hayes dated Form 3 E (San Giovanni Type 2) to just around 500 A.D., again arguing from deposits in the Agora, but has lowered his dates for this form to as early as the third quarter of the fifth century, following the evidence from Conimbriga.

Hayes dated Form 3 F (San Giovanni Types 3 and 4) by a deposit at Antioch dated to the year 526 A.D., noting that the form belongs to the first half of the sixth century at Athens.[132] The smaller and more delicate examples of Hayes 'Form 3 F', however, are proven by the dated deposits at Conimbriga to be contemporary with Hayes Form 3 E; that is, San Giovanni Types 2 and 3 are contemporary and date c. 450-c. 500 A.D. More dating evidence is offered by a well context on Samos, in which there is an accumulation of hard-fired Phocaean Red Slip of Hayes Forms 3 E and 3 F. Most of these pieces are examples of 3 F which are roughly comparable with P3816* from San Giovanni. The late date for the context is set by two coins of Justinian to the first half of the sixth century A.D.[133]

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[132] *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), pp. 337-338.
[133] The late date of the coins is earlier than 538 B.C.; cf. H. P. Isler, "Heraion von Samos: Eine frühbyzantinische Zisterne", *Athenische Mitteilungen*, 84 (1969), pp. 202-230 and pls. 82-98.

The early stamp types on Phocaean Red Slip are very similar in style to African stamps of the late fourth and early fifth centuries A.D. A good example of this style can be seen on a piece of Phocaean Red Slip from Egnazia.[134]

Stamps of the type which appear at San Giovanni have been assigned to two groups by Hayes. 'Group II' are animal stamps which are contemporary with Forms 3 C and 3 E in the deposits in the Athenian Agora dated c. 460/475 A.D. New dates for these forms suggest that the contemporary stamps date from c. 430-c. 490 A.D. The hare motif dies out by 500 A.D., according to Hayes.[135] 'Group III' are cross stamps which Hayes found established by the end of the fifth century A.D. in deposits at the Agora. Hayes may be dating the cross stamps too late. At Conimbriga, few stamps were recovered, but cross stamps were the most common. Stamp types grouped as both II and III by Hayes were found in layers which pre-date 465/468 A.D.[136] There was therefore a good deal of overlap in the use of the two types of stamp. Furthermore, Isler published examples of both animal stamps and cross stamps among the material from the cistern at the

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[134] Several examples of Form 3 in Phocaean Red Slip from Egnazia have been published by F. D'Andria (1977) in the *ASNP* article cited above, p. 79 and pl. I, figs. 4-9. Figs. 4 and 6 are examples of Hayes Form 3 B/C (San Giovanni Type 1), while fig. 5 is evidently Form E/F (San Giovanni Type 3). The palm stamp in fig. 9 is an early type, according to Hayes, (*Late Roman Pottery* (1972), fig. 72 h, and p. 349), who dates examples of this stamp to c. 400 A.D. in Athenian Agora deposits.

[135] Cf. *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), p. 357.

[136] Delgado, et al., *Conimbriga IV* (1975), p. 288 and pl. LXXIX, nos. 199-205.

Heraeum of Samos; most material in the context dates to the first quarter of the sixth century A.D.[137] This implies that both of these stamp types are very long-lived, and therefore do not have much usefulness as dating references.

The site of San Giovanni provides independent evidence of date only for SG Rim Type 1. Examples of Phocaean Red Slip in SG Rim Type 1 lie directly above layers in Context 6* (Upper Midden I) in which the latest pottery is African Red Slip Form 61 B. This is the earliest context in which the ware appears on the San Giovanni site. This distribution indicates that the introduction of the ware followed immediately upon the popularity of the African form.[138]

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[137] Isler, "Zisterne" (1969); for animal stamps, cf. fig. 56, in the same clear type as the hare at San Giovanni; cross stamps, cf. figs. 52 and 54. There is, however, at least one example of Hayes Form 3 E (fig. 47) with that material.

[138] The early varieties of Phocaean Red Slip Form 3 recall Hayes Form 61 B in African Red Slip. The relationship was noted by Hayes in *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), p. 337. According to Hayes' original dating scheme, early Phocaean Red Slip Form 3 was contemporary with Form 61 B. Hayes has lowered his dates for Form 61 B slightly (he now sets the early date for the deep bowl form c. 380 A.D.), making it more difficult to posit a relationship between the two forms.

It is perhaps merely a historical coincidence that the forms resemble each other; the Phocaean potters were not necessarily motivated to copy the African production. Phocaea had an enormously long tradition as a center of pottery production, particularly of bowls with carinated rims. Knipowitsch illustrates the continuity of related forms in Asia Minor from the first to the sixth centuries A.D., ending with Phocaean Red Slip Hayes Form 3 F, cf. T. Knipowitsch, *Untersuchungen zur Keramik Römischer Zeit aus den Griechenstädten an der Nordküste des Schwarzen Meeres I. Die Keramik römischer Zeit aus Olbia in der Sammlung der Eremitage* (Frankfurt, 1929; repr. Bonn, 1968). The range of Massiliote pottery in the fifth century B.C. (Massilia was a colony of Phocaea) includes forms which closely resemble those in Phocaean Red Slip a millenium later; cf. bowls illustrated in *Gallia* 20 (1962), p. 708.

Hayes believes that Form 61 B ends about 425 A.D.: I believe the latest examples at San Giovanni are a little later than Hayes' latest recorded examples of this form.

In summary, the evidence from both on and off the San Giovanni site for the date of Phocaean Red Slip Form 3 indicates that SG Rim Type 1 (Forms 3 A?, B? and C) dates c. 430-c. 460 A.D.; Rim Type 2 (Form 3 E) belongs c. 450-c. 500 A.D. as does Type 3 (Form 3 E/F); while Type 4 (Form 3 F) belongs to the first half of the sixth century A.D. The animal stamps date from c. 430-c. 490 A.D. and the cross stamps begin probably c. 460 A.D. and end in the early sixth century A.D.

E. The Fabric of Phocaean Red Slip from San Giovanni

The identification of Phocaean Red Slip ware on the San Giovanni site is primarily based on form. Once a number of identifications of examples of Phocaean Red Slip was made, it became clear that the fabric was not uniform.

Hayes and Delgado had previously noted that there is both a soft and a hard fabric in this ware. Hayes noted the occurence of softer orange examples in the early phases of the ware, but he also described the ware as consistent and uniform throughout the period of its production.[13] This observation would imply that the soft pieces are simply under-fired. At Conimbriga, also, two fabrics, a soft light-colored fabric, which is the predominant type, and a darker-colored harder-fired one, were distinguished.[140]

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[13] A general description of the fabric is given by Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), pp. 323-324.

During his site visit in 1978, Hayes suggested that several of the San Giovanni pieces, which are in a soft orange fabric, were comparable to pieces he had seen from Taranto and Egnazia; and that they should perhaps be considered regional imitations. He also noted that the pieces were early, and that their likely date was before the middle of the fifth century A.D.[141] Pieces he specifically noted at that time were P1116*, P1187 and P1455*. In 1979, it was noted that P3359, P3361 and P3692 were of a similar fabric and were possibly imitations of the ware.

Differentiating fabric types led to three classifications of Phocaean Red Slip ware at San Giovanni: Fabric 1 is uniformly fine, orange in color, and varies from soft to medium hard. White subrounded calcareous inclusions, varying from minute to quite small in size, are fairly frequent. Minute mica is also sometimes distinguishable.[142] The eight examples of this fabric are worn; only three retain slight traces of an orange or redbrown slip. Fabric 2 is hard and fine, and varies from orange to dull red in color. The types of inclusions are similar to Fabric 1. All three examples retain a poorly preserved red slip. Fabric 3 is uniformly very hard and fine. It varies from bright orange through red to brown in color. Again, inclusions are very similar to those of Fabric 1. All eighteen examples retain a red slip, but there is a great deal of color variation even on individual pieces. A variation of color over the rim was noted on six pieces of this fabric class at San Giovanni.[143] The color of the slip is generally dark red; it is matte rather than shiny, and often very thin.[144]

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[140] *Conimbriga IV* (1975), p. 287.

[141] Pers. comm., while visiting the San Giovanni site in August, 1978. Several pieces of Phocaean Red Slip from Egnazia, all equivalent to San Giovanni Rim Type I, have been published by D'Andria, *ASNP* (1977), p. 79.

[142] The presence of mica in the fabric is not reliably recorded, because what is present is generally fine and scant. P1187, however, was specifically noted as micaceous. Hayes notes that this occurs occasionally with pieces of Phocaean Red Slip, and suggested that it may imply a second center of production, possibly related to the production of Candarli ware; *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), p. 336.

Careful observation indicates that the paste of all three fabrics is practically identical.[145] The differences in color and hardness perceived from one example to another can be ascribed wholly to firing temperature: the paste of the ware is uniform. There is therefore no good reason to posit a regional production of imitations. In fact, it is *a priori* unlikely that imitations should appear at the beginning of the widespread marketing of a ware, and the correlation of fabric class with form shows that the soft pieces are in fact early.

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[143] A discoloured outer rim was noted by Hayes as a trait of the ware, *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), p. 324.

[144] At Conimbriga, the harder-fired type was divided into two groups, one with a thin matte slip and the other having a slip with a metallic shine; cf. *Conimbriga IV* (1975), p. 287. None of the San Giovanni examples had any evidence of a metallic or iridescent slip.

[145] In one example of Fabric 2 (P1463*, Form 3 C) and two examples of Fabric 3 (P1580, Form 3 E and P1655*, Form 3 F), I noted a distinctive shiny crystalline black grit. This feature may be associated with firing temperature, or perhaps it was not visible in old breaks.

Eight pieces in all are classed as the soft 'Fabric 1'; all eight are rims and all are grouped under SG Rim Type 1.[146] Six of these (P1116*, P1187, P1455*, P3359, P3361 and P3692) were originally described as possibly of an imitation ware. No bases in Fabric 1 have been recorded; we have evidently missed bases in the soft fabric completely, a fact which implies that they had lost their diagnostic features.

Three of the remaining five rims grouped as Type 1 are in the comparatively soft 'Fabric 2' (P1463*, P3044* and P3567). The remaining two Type 1 rims, P3358 and P3624*, are in the hard-fired Fabric 3. The general tendency is clear; San Giovanni Type 1 rims are most likely to be in Fabric 1 (8 of 13 rims) or either of Fabrics 1 or 2 (11 of 13 rims). The evidence from San Giovanni indicates that the soft early fabric (Fabric 1) ends around 450 A.D., since SG Rim Types 2, 3 and 4, which date after 450 A.D., are always in the hard-fired Fabric 3.

This temporal relationship is confirmed by the appearance of seven of eight examples of Fabric 1 in contexts which pre-date the construction of Period III and of 14 of 18 examples of Fabric 3 in contexts which represent occupation material of Period III.

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[146] Correlations of fabric to form and fabric to date of context can be checked in the discussion of the ware in the late contexts, below.

F. Phocaean Red Slip Assemblages in Stratified Late Contexts

Seventeen pieces of Phocaean Red Slip at San Giovanni appear in stratified contexts of the late site. The earliest context in which the ware appears is Context 6* (Upper Midden I). In fact, the ware appears only in the uppermost layers of the context. The latest datable African Red Slip in the immediately underlying layers, as in Lower Midden I, are Hayes Forms 53 B, 61 A and B, 91 B and variants of Form 80. These forms suggest a late date prior to the appearance of Phocaean Red Slip of about 425 A.D. or slightly later. One example of Form 87 C and an early version of Form 97 in African Red Slip also appear associated with the earliest Phocaean Red Slip. Phocaean Red Slip therefore appears at San Giovanni c. 430 A.D.

Context 6* **/c. 425-c. 460 A.D./**

Upper Midden I has six examples of Phocaean Red Slip. Four rims belong to SG Rim Type 1. P1255*, specifically noted by Hayes as a very early base in the ware, also appears in this context.

1.	P1116*	Rim Type 1	Fabric 2
2.	P1187	Rim Type 1	Fabric 1
3.	P1255*	Early Base	Fabric 3
4.	P1455*	Rim Type 1	Fabric 1
5.	P1463*	Rim Type 1	Fabric 2
6.	P1464	Base	Fabric 3

Context 7 **c. 340-c. 460 A.D.**

Context 7 is not closely defined. It includes destruction material of Late Period I and was unsealed throughout Period II.

7. P3567	Rim Type 1	Fabric 2

Context 8 **c. 460 A.D./**

The buildup for the construction of the buildings of Period III in Zone 3 includes six examples of rims in Phocaean Red Slip, of which five are certainly early examples of Type 1 at San Giovanni. Given the very consistent agreement between the examples of the ware in Contexts 6* and 8, it is clear that the two are essentially exactly contemporary; that is, Rooms 2 and 3, which were built over Midden I, were adjoined to the large apsed building of Period III almost immediately after its construction.

Late African Red Slip in this context covers a wide range, including Forms 50 B, 53 B, 61 B, 76 and 87 C.

8. P1567	Rim Type 1	Fabric 1
9. P3358	Rim Type 1	Fabric 3
10. P3359	Rim Type 1	Fabric 1
11. P3361	Rim Type 1	Fabric 1
12. P3624*	Rim Type 1	Fabric 3
13. P3692	Rim Type 1	Fabric 1

Context 12* **/c. 460-c. 530 A.D./**

Midden IV, which contains occupation material of Period III, has only one example of Phocaean Red Slip and it cannot be dated more closely than the second half of the fifth century A.D. Examples of SG Rim Type 2 (Hayes Form 3 E) do not occur in either Midden I or Midden IV.

14. P1655* Rim Type 3 Fabric 3

Context 13* /c. 530 A.D./

Destruction material of Period III includes two examples of Phocaean Red Slip, of which P3816* is the latest piece of datable fine ware on the site.

15. P3104 Base Fabric 3

16. P3816* Rim Type 4 Fabric 3

Context 14 /c. 530 + A.D.

The only piece of the ware in topsoil overlying the structures of the late site is residual.

17. P3044* Rim Type 1 Fabric 2

The finds of late Roman pottery in the area of the buildings of Period III are not random, but are largely associated with midden deposits. Ten of the thirteen remaining pieces of Phocaean Red Slip appeared in two late middens which were sampled by test trenches in 1977.

Midden II

The least distinctive of these deposits is that in the area of Room 42 (Midden II). Here the late period pottery was laid down over pottery of the first and second centuries A.D. Judging by the range of forms in African Red Slip, pottery was evidently discarded in this area fairly continuously from the construction of Period II c. 375 A.D. until the end of the occupation of the site in the early sixth century A.D. There are eight examples of Phocaean Red Slip from this context or immediately overlying it in the same trench.

18. P0796	Base	Fabric 3
19. P0809	Base	Fabric 3
20. P0832*	Stamp	Fabric 3
21. P0833	Stamp	Fabric ?
22. P0836*	Rim Type 2	Fabric 3
23. P0838*	Rim Type 4	Fabric 3
24. P0840*	Rim Type 1	Fabric 1
25. P1580*	Rim Type 2	Fabric 3

Midden III

Although Midden III included a great concentration of pottery, it contains no African Red Slip, so that these two pieces of Phocaean Red Slip, which may well belong to the same bowl, are the only datable late fine ware in the context.

26. P0704*	Rim Type 2	Fabric 3
27. P0733*	Stamp	Fabric 3

Topsoil, Zone 1

Three examples of the ware appear in topsoil in Zone 1.

28. P0202	Rim Type 2?	Fabric 3
29. P1005	Stamp	Fabric 3
30. P1972	Base	Fabric 3

G. Conclusions on Typology and Chronology

Hayes' typology and relative chronology of Phocaean Red Slip Form 3 hold up well when examined closely in relation to the pieces of Phocaean Red Slip on the San Giovanni site, but an important amount of new information has resulted from the study and interpretation of the site finds.

Serious difficulty was met in the attempt to differentiate Hayes' sub-types in early examples of Form 3. A likely explanation for this difficulty is that the early types at San Giovanni were imported within the brief period between c. 430 to c. 460 A.D. In this case, the observed variations are essentially contemporary.

Another major point is the clear evidence that Phocaean Red Slip which belongs to the first half of the fifth century A.D. is likely to be in a soft orange fabric very vulnerable to wear, and that even those pieces which are relatively well-fired from this period tend to be less hard-fired than the hard red fabric which is usual in the second half of the fifth century A.D.

Phocaean Red Slip appears on the San Giovanni site from c. 430 A.D. to the end of the site's history c. 530 A.D. The distribution of the ware in the contexts of the late site indicates that it was imported in ever smaller quantities over this period, but it also indicates that its importation outlasted that of the African Red Slip wares. Thirteen of thirty catalogued pieces (eleven rims) occur in stratified contexts pre-dating the construction of Period III; that is, one-third of all catalogued examples of Phocaean Red Slip on the site were deposited on the site in the period c. 430-c. 460 A.D. Of the seventeen remaining pieces, eleven are rims. It was noted above that *early* bases were less likely to be recognized as examples of the ware; on the count of rims only, it seems likely that one-half of all Phocaean Red Slip on the site pre-dates c. 460 A.D. Of the nine remaining rims, two are in topsoil (one of these is an example of SG Rim Type 1 and certainly dates pre-460 A.D.); another, in Midden II, also belongs to SG Rim Type 1. The remaining six rims certainly date between c. 460 and c. 530 A.D. Of these, only two post-date 500 A.D. This distribution fixes the ratio of catalogued rims in Phocaean Red Slip as follows: eleven c. 430-c. 460 A.D., four c. 460-c. 500 A.D., and two c. 500-c. 530 A.D. More midden material from the occupation of Period III remains to be analysed, which may change this picture; but the present evidence implies a sharp drop in the importation of the ware after the beginning of Period III. It was even rarer after 500 A.D. On the other hand, there is *no* African Red Slip on the site which requires a date later than 500 A.D.

There is a sharp differentiation between the forms and fabrics which appear in contexts immediately pre-dating the construction of Period III (SG Rim Type 1 and Fabrics 1 and 2) and in contexts which represent occupation material of Period III (SG Rim Types 2, 3 and 4 and Fabric 3). A similar contrast occurs in terms of the African Red Slip forms and fabrics which are characteristic of these contexts. The marked contrast in these pottery horizons suggests a possible break in the occupation of the site, and therefore in the importation of fine wares; such a break would have to occur before the construction of Period III, fall within the period between c. 450 and c. 470 A.D., and be fairly short.

Because Middens II, III and IV cannot be related to each other stratigraphically, it is impossible to outline the sequence in which each was the major rubbish deposit during the occupation of Period III. That there was a sequence seems evident from the contrasting fine ware pottery horizons in each context (see Table VII). The site therefore forces admission of what we do not know about the date of Phocaean Red Slip SG Types 2, 3 and 4. On the other hand, the site promises, with the analysis of the stratigraphy and material of subsequent excavation, to answer these questions, just as it has clarified many points in regard to the period from c. 375 to c. 460 A.D.

VI. Late Roman Painted Common Ware

In contexts of Late Periods II and III, dating from the late fourth to the early sixth centuries A.D., examples of a painted common ware were extremely numerous on the San Giovanni site, making up thirty to fifty percent by sherd count of all pottery excavated. The count for the ware in Lower and Upper Midden I (Contexts 5* and 6*) combined, of the late fourth and first half of the fifth centuries A.D., was 1221 of 3236 sherds; the ware formed 38% of all excavated pottery in the combined context.

In Midden IV (Context 12*), of the second half of the fifth century A.D., 2004 of 4098 sherds were in the painted common ware; the ware forms 49% of all pottery by sherd count. The ware makes up an even larger percentage by weight, since the forms tend to be large and the fabric breaks up into larger pieces than fine and coarse wares because of its tensile strength. When the pottery in Midden IV was weighed as a check on the relative accuracy of information derived from sherd counts, painted common ware made up 61% of all pottery (see Table I). Counts of the ware by number of sherds and by weight are both higher than the relative percentages based on the number of catalogued examples, which is twenty-eight percent for Midden I and forty-five percent for Midden IV.

In this thesis, all catalogued examples of the ware from stratified contexts excavated from 1977 to 1980 (297 pieces) will be discussed. Each type or form is related to the stratified contexts in which it appears. Examples from outside stratified contexts are omitted unless the individual piece is of specific importance.

A. General Description of Late Roman Painted Common Ware

Late Roman painted common ware on the San Giovanni site has particular characteristics of fabric, form and decoration style. It is a wheel-made ware of very fine-grained compact fabric, with medium thick walls. The ware is characterized by matte self-slipped surfaces, very smooth on the exterior but with extremely fine horizontal striations on the interior. The color of the fabric ranges from orange to buff, indicating that the ware was fired in a kiln with an oxidizing atmosphere. A partial thin matte slip or paint in a darker color was applied to the exterior and sometimes to the interior surfaces with a wide brush in irregular fashion. The fabric of the late ware at San Giovanni tends to be very hard; but the hardness, and the color of the fabric and paint, vary with the firing temperature.

There is a wide range of forms in the late painted common ware at San Giovanni (forty-three forms have been identified), including three that are especially numerous; the small amphora (SG Form 1), the flanged spouted bowl (SG Form 42), and the wide-mouthed jar with heavy rolled rim (SG Form 43). Most of the ware was evidently intended for table service, as the heavier and less graceful forms have decoration of various types and therefore were intended to be seen. The fabric was never used for cooking, no doubt because of inadequate heat resistance. Pieces which are fire-darkened were so damaged after they were broken.

The forms themselves are always wheel-made; but hand-formed spouts, handles and decorative buttons sometimes appear. Decoration often appears on the upper area of a vessel, on the shoulder, flange or upper wall depending on the form. Early pieces in the range that appears at San Giovanni may have incised decoration of horizontal wavy or zigzag lines and dependent spirals. From the middle of the fifth century pieces are sometimes decorated with lines of horizontal or wavy combing, incised before they are slipped and fired; or, much more rarely, with stick-drawn wavy lines. Decoration on fifth century examples often includes fine horizontal striations on the exterior of the lower wall and base, while bowls may have interior rouletting.

B. Evidence for Related Ware from Other Sites

Late Roman painted common ware, of comparable fabric and range of forms to the ware which appears at San Giovanni, is familiar to excavators of south Italian sites of the late imperial and early medieval periods. Similarities in fabric and form are particularly evident within Basilicata (which is equivalent to the northeastern area of the ancient province of *Lucania et Bruttii*), but wares which are likely to be essentially identical are also found in southern Campania and northern Apulia (see Map I). There has been practically no publication of this ware; where a few pieces have been published, they have no accurately dated archaeological context.[147]

Pieces in a ware which is very closely related in terms of all visual characteristics of fabric and form to that found at San Giovanni occur at a number of sites in Basilicata. Apart from San Giovanni, the two most important sites are the 'Castrum' at Metaponto and a site near Calle di Tricarico where an accumulation of painted common ware was excavated in association with kilns.

Painted common ware is abundant in superficial layers at the Castrum excavation at Metaponto; forms in the ware from Metaponto include the small amphora (SG Form 1), the flanged spouted bowl (SG Form 42) and a crude example of the pseudo-flanged spouted bowl (SG Form 46). Two other forms have no equivalents at San Giovanni, although the first, a heavy globular pot with a rolled rim, is obviously related to the wide-mouthed jar (SG Form 43). There is no evidence of a handle. A large globular pot with a vertical rim is completely unfamiliar. The pot has three stick-drawn wavy lines around its sloping shoulder, and a horizontal handle applied at the lowest level of this decoration.

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[147] I have published a very short summary of its characteristics in "Una ceramica comune del quinto secolo d.C." in *Lucania Archeologica* 1 (marzo-giugno 1980), pp. 11-16. The ware has occasionally been mentioned in other publications, which are noted below.

The Castrum excavation also produced a few wall sherds with a reticular painted decoration; such a deliberate painted pattern on painted common ware is found in only one instance at San Giovanni. Decoration on other pieces from Metaponto includes incised lines, wavy combing and stick-drawn wavy lines.[148]

A quantity of a ware essentially identical to the painted common ware at San Giovanni was excavated at Calle di Tricarico by Dott.sa Giuliana Tocco in 1970.[149] The Calle group of painted common ware includes examples of the small amphora (SG Form 1), the flanged spouted bowl (SG Form 42) and the wide-mouthed jar (SG Form 43), the most common forms at San Giovanni. A number of other forms familiar on the San

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[148] I visited the excavation and the *deposito* on the site in the summer of 1979 and was very kindly shown the late Roman pottery by Dott.sa Teresa Giannotta. Finds from the excavation were also displayed at the Archaeological Museum of Metaponto; examples of painted common ware were labelled 'ceramica comune di età tardo-imperiale'. A few pieces of painted common ware from the Castrum excavation have been published in *La Magna Grecia nell'Età Romana, Atti del Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia* at Taranto, October, 1975; Pl. XXXVI B, inventory no. 120630 is as SG Form 1, 120146 is as SG Form 42, 120368 illustrates wavy combing.

[149] David Whitehouse, Director of the British School at Rome, first mentioned the pottery finds from Calle di Tricarico to me in 1977. These finds will be published by Dott.sa Maria Grazia Salvatore, now *ispettrice* in the superintendency for Basilicata, as part of her planned catalogue of forms in medieval painted common ware.

Thanks to the kindness of Dott.sa Elena Lattanzi, superintendent of the Department of Antiquities in Basilicata, I was able to look over these finds in the *deposito* of the Museo Ridola at Matera in the summer of 1978 and again in the summer of 1980. At the time when I saw the material, it was packed in six *cassette* labelled 'Calle 5-10-70, Ambiente 23, Fornace'.

Giovanni site also occur at Calle: a jug with long vertical neck and knobbed rim (SG Form 6), a bowl with lipped carinated rim (SG Form 24), a small globular pot with vertical rim (SG Form 61) and a small lid (SG Form 62). Wavy combing and horizontal striations on exterior lower walls appear as decoration. The profile of the jug with long vertical neck and knobbed rim (SG Form 6) appears complete to the shoulder at Calle: this is the only form for which the Calle deposit supplies greater information than the San Giovanni finds.

Examples of the flanged spouted bowl form (SG Form 42) in a painted common ware from Sibari have been published.[150] I have also seen examples of the ware from ancient Grumentum.[151] A few pieces from the latest layers at a Roman villa of the early empire at Atella also belong to the same class. Recognizable forms from Atella are the lid with squared rim (SG Form 62), and two examples of the wide-mouthed jar (SG Form 43) (one example from Atella has a vertical strap handle, which appears only on closed forms at San Giovanni). A small jug in a form with vertical neck and plain rim has incised decoration on its shoulder.[152]

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[150] The diameter of one example is 32.0 cms; the flange is decorated with three buttons, one applied directly above the spout; *Sibari III* (1972), a Supplement to *Notizie degli Scavi*, p. 335, fig. 36. A piece which is possibly related appears on p. 374 (fig. 407). The context is undated.

[151] In the summer of 1980, Dott.sa Liliana Giardino showed me several examples of painted common ware in the *deposito* at Grumento, including a small jug with incised decoration and two examples of the flanged spouted bowl. Inventory numbers on these pieces are 52353, 52638, 52339.

Outside the boundaries of Basilicata, a similar ware has been noted at several sites, especially in northern Apulia and southern Campania. Francesco D'Andria has mentioned finds of painted common ware at Egnazia as evidently related to the finds at Calle di Tricarico.[153] A strap handle in a light-colored common ware with matte dark red paint is listed by Alfredo Geniola among finds from Salapia in northern Apulia.[154] Other undated examples of related types have been excavated at Lucera by David Whitehouse.[155]

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[152] The Atella site was excavated by Dr. Christopher Simpson of the University of Alberta on behalf of the Basilicata Superintendency in the 1980 and 1981 seasons; a report on the site "The Roman Villa at Atella, South Italy: Preliminary Sondages", was presented at a conference on San Giovanni di Ruoti at the Canadian Consulate in Rome, held July 4, 1981. Papers from the conference, *Lo Scavo di S. Giovanni di Ruoti ed il Periodo Tardoromano ed Altomedioevale in Basilicata*, are in press (Bari, 1982). The pieces mentioned have been drawn by Rosemary Aicher. Contexts are AT80.II.7, AT80.II.6, AT80.IV.5 and AT80.I.3 (see note 229 on SG Form 65, below) respectively.

[153] The pieces illustrated are not recognizably related to the forms at San Giovanni; D'Andria, *ASNP* 7 (1977), p. 81.

[154] Geniola suggests that the piece is medieval; however, a commercial amphora type in the same context has parallels at the 'Castrum' site at Metaponto and in a few wall sherds from contexts of Period III at San Giovanni; cf. "Saggi di scavo nel settore nord-occidentale di Salapia", *Archivio Storico Pugliese* 26 (1973), fig. 12c, pottery type no. 10, p. 550; the amphora with ridged shoulder is illustrated in fig. 13.

[155] Examples can be seen on display in the museum at Lucera (Richard Hodges, pers. comm., March 18, 1980) and have been published by Whitehouse in "Ceramiche e vetri medioevali provenienti dal castello di Lucera", in *Bollettino d'Arte* 51 (1966). Fig. 29, 1 closely resembles the small amphora (SG Form 1) and the jug in fig. 29, 2 seems to be a contemporary type by form. Dating evidence from that excavation indicates only that the type pre-dates the thirteenth century A.D.

Several examples in forms known from San Giovanni were found at the late Roman villa sites excavated at Buccino in southern Campania by Dr. Stephen Dyson.[156] A similar ware has been excavated by Carlo Franciosi at one or two sites in Campania.[157]

Evidence for late Roman painted common ware from these sites demonstrates that the distribution of a ceramic class distinguishable by particular characteristics of fabric and form is quite wide in southern Italy on sites approximately contemporary to the late site at San Giovanni; that is, sites which date to the fourth, fifth or sixth centuries A.D. It is not clear on the basis of the present evidence, however, if all these pieces should be ascribed to one 'ware', in the sense of their being products of one factory or one manufacturing center. Only chemical and physical analysis can establish such a relationship securely.[158]

Before the excavation at San Giovanni, what little evidence existed for the date of the late Roman painted common ware prevalent in south Italian contexts suggested that it appeared in the fourth or fifth centuries A.D. and later.[159] The latest datable fine wares from Atella are an example of African Red Slip in Hayes Form 53 and a stamped base of Hayes type A(ii), suggesting a date at the end of the fourth century A.D. African Red Slip stratigraphically associated with the painted common ware at the Castrum excavation includes Hayes Forms 61 B, 67 and 91 B and several stamped bases with large motifs of the type classed A(ii) or A(iii) by Hayes; these suggest a date at the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth centuries A.D. The latest dated material found in association with the late Roman painted common ware from Calle di Tricarico is an imported African lamp of Hayes Type II, which Hayes dates to the second half of the fifth century A.D.

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[156] Dr. Dyson kindly showed me unpublished drawings and notes on pottery excavated from these villas, which certainly include material from as late as the fourth century A.D., in January of 1980.

[157] This was reported to me by my colleagues Helena Fracchia and Maurizio Gualtieri in September of 1981; the sites are Telese and San Martino della Valle Caudina.

[158] A first step in analysing the evidence is described under the heading "Fabric", see note 183.

At San Giovanni, the evidence of dated deposits indicates that painted common ware appeared by the last quarter of the fourth century A.D., became extremely common in the middle of the fifth century, and remained so to the end of the site at the beginning of the sixth. The San Giovanni contexts allow accurate dates to be set for the introduction of particular forms and decoration styles in the ware. No other site that I know has the wide range of forms or the stratified dating evidence which San Giovanni provides.

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[159] In his 1977 article, D'Andria suggested a third or fourth century A.D. date for the ware; *ASNP* (1977), p. 81; I have seen no specific evidence to associate the ware with a date as early as the third century A.D.

C. Broad-Line Red-Painted Common Ware

More generally, the ware at San Giovanni can be seen to be part of an ill-defined and controversial class designated as 'broad-line red-painted ware' by archeologists of medieval Italy.[160] The seminal work in defining the broad historical outlines of the appearance and development of the medieval red-painted common wares in southern Italy has been done by D. B. Whitehouse.[161] At present, wares like that found at San Giovanni are considered by him to represent the beginning of a sequence of 'broad-line red-painted common wares', which originate in about the fifth century A.D. and continue to about the ninth century A.D., when 'narrow-line red-painted wares' become the dominant common ware type.[162] One of the most useful aspects of Whitehouse's study of this very long-lived medieval sequence is a series of distribution maps which make the manufacture of the ware at a site somewhere in the vicinity of modern Foggia in Apulia very likely.[143]

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[160] D. B. Whitehouse (pers. comm., September, 1977) uses this term to designate the painted common ware from Calle di Tricarico, which is essentially identical to and most likely contemporary with the ware from San Giovanni.

[161] The most recent discussion by him is "The Medieval Pottery of Rome", in H. Mck. Blake, T. Potter and D. Whitehouse, eds., *Papers in Italian Archaeology I*, British Archaeological Reports, Supplementary Series 41, pp. 475-505, esp. p. 478. His earlier important studies of the type are "Medieval Painted Pottery in South and Central Italy", *Medieval Archaeology* 10 (1966), pp. 30-44, and his contribution on Italian pottery in "Red-Painted and Glazed Pottery in Western Europe from the Eighth to the Twelfth Century", ed. J. G. Hurst, *Medieval Archaeology* 13 (1969), esp. pp. 137-143.

[162] Whitehouse defines 'broad-line' as painted lines more than one centimeter wide; 'narrow-line' refers to painted lines less than one centimeter wide; cf. "Medieval Pottery of Rome" (1978), p. 478.

Examples of broad-line red-painted ware with some comparable characteristics to the ware at San Giovanni, including forms related to the small amphora (SG Form 1), the flanged spouted bowl (SG Form 42), the wide-mouthed jar (SG Form 43) and the small globular pot with vertical rim (SG Form 61) have been found in the course of survey in the Biferno valley of the Molise, sometimes in association with African Red Slip of the fifth century A.D.[144]

While suggestive parallels, all of either roughly contemporary or later, and sometimes much later, date, indicate that the red-painted wares from San Giovanni may mark the beginning of a sequence which continues for nearly a millenium, the only way to resolve such an issue is with more specific knowledge of this general class of wares from known and dated contexts.[165]

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[143] Whitehouse, "Medieval Painted Pottery" (1966), figs. 9 and 12; "Red-Painted and Glazed Pottery", ed. Hurst, (1969), figs. 47 and 48.

[144] Richard Hodges, pers. comm., March 18, 1980. For a report of the survey and of the importance of the broad-line red-painted common ware among the finds, cf. Richard Hodges and Chris Wickham, "The Evolution of Hilltop Villages in the Biferno Valley, Molise", in *Papers in Italian Archaeology II*, ed. Barker and Hodges, (London, 1980), pp. 305-312. The red-painted wares from survey sites of the fifth century are not necessarily of the same fabric as those published from the excavation of site D85, cf. p. 307. For the publication of that site, cf. Richard Hodges, Graeme Barker, Keith Wade, "Excavations at D85 (Santa Maria in Civita): An Early Medieval Hilltop Settlement in Molise", *PBSR* 48 (1980), pp. 70-124. Radiocarbon dating for organic material associated with stratified broad-line red-painted pottery from this site yields dates in the sixth and ninth centuries A.D. An interesting observation from this site is the increasingly better quality of the pottery over this time, cf. p. 90.

D. Provenance of the Painted Common Ware

Painted common ware of types very similar in fabric and form to that at San Giovanni was eventually marketed in an area of southern Italy comprising present day Basilicata, northern Apulia, southern Campania and even perhaps the Molise. Inside this fairly large geographical area (about 15,000 square kilometers) the characteristic traits of fabric and form are consistent.

The workshop or workshops which produced the ware has not been located. A quantity of examples of the ware contemporary with and extremely similar to the ware at San Giovanni has been excavated in association with kilns at Calle di Tricarico, but it is not certain that those kilns produced the painted common ware.[166] The distribution of fifth century types (see Map I) seems to indicate that the ware was produced somewhere in the vicinity of modern Basilicata. Calle is quite central to the distribution area of the fifth century ware as presently understood, but the evidence we have cannot be considered conclusive.[167]

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[165] Not only are these parallels later, but they may be far afield geographically. The question is investigated as widely as possible in "Red-Painted and Glazed Pottery" (1969), ed. J. G. Hurst.
[166] I have made a careful check on the examples of the ware in the *deposito* at Matera (see note 148 above): I found no wasters or kiln debris with the material.

When this information is added to what is known about the distribution of medieval red-painted wares, finds of which cluster in the area of Lucera in Apulia, most specifically in the vicinity of modern Foggia, it seems entirely likely that the evidence of distribution will eventually pinpoint one central manufacturing area in northern Apulia or northeastern Basilicata.[168]

E. The Forms in the Wider Cultural Context

It has been established above that the forms in late Roman painted common ware at San Giovanni, as well as the fabric itself, have numerous parallels in southern Italy, particularly in Lucania, southern Campania, northern Apulia and the Molise, in contexts broadly dated from the fourth to the sixth century A.D. Although the lack of published or unpublished evidence from Roman sites of the third century A.D. and later makes it somewhat difficult to perceive accurately or document convincingly the relationship of the forms in the ware to a wider cultural, geographical and chronological context, certain observations can be made.

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[167] See note 169, below.

[168] For the distribution studies of medieval broad-line and narrow-line red-painted common wares done by Whitehouse, see above, p. 194 and note 162. At the time when the information was collected, it was not possible to distinguish between 'broad-line red-painted ware' of late imperial and that of early medieval date; therefore Whitehouse's findspots include examples of wares of the fifth century A.D.

The forms of the late Roman painted common ware at San Giovanni are slow to change. Of the three dominant forms, the small amphora persists unaltered for more than one hundred years, while the flanged spouted bowl and the wide-mouthed jar are essentially unchanged from their first appearance in the middle of the fifth century A.D. to the end of the occupation of the site in the first half of the sixth.

Forms in all wares seem to have been evolving slowly in the late empire. A clear example is the common African Red Slip bowl type Hayes Form 50, which persists as a recognizable entity from the early third to the end of the fourth century A.D. Similarly, only a slow process of evolution is visible within ARS Form 61 from the early fourth to the beginning of the fifth century A.D. On the other hand, there is a near revolution in the shape of African Red Slip bowls in the middle of the fifth century A.D. with the introduction of the Oudna series, Forms 96 to 99. This sharp change may be tied to the stressful events of the Vandal invasion of Africa. A possible implication of the slow rate of change of the forms at San Giovanni is that society there, and in southern Italy generally, was not disastrously disturbed during the period from the late fourth to the early sixth century A.D.

There is evidence that the manufacturers of the ware at San Giovanni were closely in touch with the fashion in the bowls from northern Tunisia (African Red Slip) and from

Phocaea in Asia Minor (Phocaean Red Slip), both of which wares were widely exported around the Mediterranean at the time. A number of bowls in the painted common ware directly imitate forms of the second half of the fifth century A.D. in the dominant imported fine wares, and all bowl forms in the late painted common ware at San Giovanni betray the influence of contemporary fashion in these wares.[''']

There is less evidence available for parallels for other forms in the ware; the lack of evidence is most notable for the closed forms. For the large service pieces the evidence is sketchy but allows some tentative conclusions to be drawn.

The flanged spouted bowl (SG Form 42) is somewhat similar in shape to the classic mortarium, but neither it nor the other spouted forms at San Giovanni have any indication of the roughened rounded interior characteristic of the mortarium and particularly suited to the crushing of cooked vegetables and other soft foods in the preparation of sauces. Among the service pieces, three forms have wide mouths and applied pouring spouts (the flanged spouted bowl, SG Form 42; the wide-mouthed spouted bowl with carinated wall, SG Form 45, and the pseudo-flanged spouted bowl, SG Form 46). These spouted forms may be characteristic of the late empire; related forms in fifth century surface contexts

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['''] Hayes has suggested that this influence should be considered as a factor in determining the provenance of the workshop that produced the ware: a seaport or major trading center may be indicated, pers. comm., September, 1982.

were found at Albintimilium.[170] A carinated spouted form which has some ties to the flanged spouted bowl and the sauceboat at San Giovanni also occurs in a late context at Conimbriga, where the range of late fine wares is almost identical to that at San Giovanni.[171] The appearance of these spouted forms indicates that if the mortarium *per se* is disappearing, the traditional importance of sauces to Roman eating habits continued.[172]

The large funnel (SG Form 33), of which there was only one example at San Giovanni, also has comparanda in the same contexts at Albintimilium mentioned above, suggesting that this form too may be characteristic of the late empire.[173]

The evidence indicates that the appearance of large heavy service pieces with wide mouths, flanged forms, carinated forms, spouted forms, and the funnel are part of a general trend in Roman vessel forms in the late empire. Flanged forms seem to have become common in the late fourth century A.D. and to have spread throughout the Roman empire, remaining common at least through the fifth century A.D. This type too most likely is an evolutionary development of the mortarium.[174] It is possible that the wide-mouthed spouted bowl with carinated wall (SG Form 45) is related to an open carinated form in a painted common ware found in layers of the early third century A.D. at the Ostia Terme.[175] While no very strong argument can be based on threads of evidence as tenuous as these, it seems most likely that the forms have developed from earlier ones characteristic of the Roman empire; there is no obvious external influence on the forms themselves.

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[170] Among midden material dated to the second half of the fourth to the late fifth centuries A.D. by African Red Slip Hayes Forms 61 A and B, 87 and 99, the 'vaso a listello' in local common ware (fig. 85, no. 113 and p. 149; no evidence of a spout) is comparable to the flanged spouted bowl at San Giovanni; the 'vaso a catino' (fig. 86, nos. 116-118 and p. 152; note the tube-like spouts) is similar in form to the spouted bowl with carinated wall. For the type-pieces for these forms cf. Lamboglia, *Albintimilium* (1950), fig. 95, no. 11 and pp. 164-165, and fig. 94, no. 3 and p. 161 respectively.

[171] Alarcão, *Conimbriga V* (1975), pl. LVI, no. 973. Other spouted forms of some interest are illustrated on pl. LVII, no. 994; pl. LXI, no. 1067.

[172] Cf. Dietwulf Baatz, "Reibschale und Romanisierung", *RCRF* 17/18 (1977), pp. 147-158. According to Baatz, the Romans adopted the mortarium from the Greeks by the second century B.C.: he notes that the recipes of Apicius for a great variety of sauces show how basic the mortarium was to Roman food preparation. The manuscript history of Apicius suggests that it was still in use in the fourth century A.D. (*OCD*^{2})

[173] Lamboglia, *Albintimilium* (1950), fig. 89, no. 150 and p. 155; the type-piece is fig. 93, no. 2, p. 160.

Close parallels for some painted common ware forms from San Giovanni, especially the flanged spouted bowl (SG Form 42) and the wide-mouthed sauceboat (SG Form 43), have been noted among examples of unpainted 'Frankish Ware' from the late antique excavations at Trier. This collection of ceramic pieces has been dated on the basis of known parallels to the seventh to ninth centuries A.D. The excavators suggest that these forms evolved from the late Roman mortarium and jar with carinated wall and heavy rim.[176]

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[174] Cf. J. W. Hayes, "North African Flanged Bowls" (1977), passim.

[175] *Ostia I* (1968) illustrates a delicate version of the form (tav. XIII, figs. 281 a-b, 282, 283 and p. 89; the rim diameter of 281 is 21.6 cms) and a heavier version (tavs. XXII-XXIII, figs. 430-435 and p. 96). These pieces show no evidence of a spout. The heavier version of the form is decorated with stick-drawn oblique lines, a type of decoration that, as noted below, usually occurs in fourth to sixth century A.D. contexts. I have seen a piece very similar to the delicate version of the form from Ostia in an early third century A.D. context on the Via Gabina excavation near Rome.

Any possible influence on the painted common ware from barbarian tribes flooding into the Roman Empire cannot be documented. The present understanding of the various barbarian groups suggests they had surprisingly little impact on the contemporary culture. Roman pottery was evidently much more highly developed,[177] so that influences went from Romans to barbarians, as in the case of the 'Frankish' ware at Trier.

Direct evidence for the culture of any of the barbarian groups in Italy is hard to come by. The Goths, rulers of Italy at the end of the fifth and the first half of the sixth centuries A.D., did not use grave goods beyond the personal jewelry and clothing accessories of the dead.[178]

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[176] Cf. Ludwig Hussong in L. Hussong and H. Cüppers, *Die Trierer Kaiserthermen: Die spätrömische and frühmittelalterliche Keramik*, (Mainz, 1972), pp. 95-118. SG Form 42 is like the "Frankish" Type 7 (fig. 51); SG Form 45 is like Type 8 (fig. 52); SG Form 51 is like Type 16 (fig. 60). Examples of the ware also bear wavy combing.

[177] Cf. Blake, "Medieval Pottery" (1978), p. 440. He notes among other examples the the Lombard pottery published by von Hessen. It is not wheel made and the forms are extremely simple and unfamiliar; cf. O. von Hessen, *Die Langobarderzeitische Grabfunde aus Fiesole bei Florenz*, (Munich, 1966), pls. 14 and 15; also *Die Langobardische Keramik aus Italien*, (Wiesbaden, 1968), p. 7 and pl. 20, nos. 79, 100 and 101.

[178] Cf. Volker Bierbrauer's *Die Ostgothischen Grab- und Schatzfunden Italiens*, (Biblioteca degli Studi Medievali VII, Spoleto, 1975), which illustrates one example of pottery only, p. 60.

Lombard cemeteries, which are described as having the same cultural characteristics, both in layout and in gravegoods, as archaeological remains of any of the barbarian cultures across Europe, also reveal a minimum of pottery.[179]

A quantity of pottery was excavated at the late site of Invillino, but the excavators concede that it is not certain that the site is not better described as late Roman rather than Lombard. In fact, the fine ware from the site dates to the fourth to the sixth centuries A.D. While the site therefore was occupied over only a slightly wider range of time than San Giovanni, evidently nothing strictly comparable to the forms or fabric of the south Italian common ware appears on the site.[180].

F. Fabric

The fabric of the late Roman painted common ware at San Giovanni is identifiable by the makeup of the paste, its tensile strength, characteristic surface, wall thickness, slip treatment and color range.

The fabric gives the impression of being compact because of the extreme fineness and regularity of the clay. In a random sample of 21 sherds studied in the summer of

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[179] Cf. Otto von Hessen (1966), (1969) (see note 177, above) and also G. Sergi, "La necropoli barbarica di Castel Trosino" (1902), A. Pasqui, "Necropoli barbarica di Nocera Umbra", (1918).

[180] G. Fingerlin, J. Garbsch and J. Werner, "Gli Scavi nel Castello Longobardo di Ibligo-Invillino (Friuli)", *Aquileia Nostra* 39 (1969), cols. 57-136, esp. col. 100 and fig 10.

1980 every piece showed a uniformly fine paste. Every piece has visible minute (smaller than 1 mm) inclusions, while twelve pieces have a few small to medium size (1 to 2 mm) inclusions. Most inclusions are white; the occasional larger inclusions are clearly particles of white shell. Minute mica is always visible on the surfaces in direct sunshine. In examples of the ware at San Giovanni, the consistency of the makeup of the paste in regard to fineness of grain and type of inclusions suggests that the clay was levigated and processed by a consistent and skilled method.

The potters producing the painted common ware found on the San Giovanni site seem to be working in a common ware genre typical of southern Italy in the Iron Age and Hellenistic period as it would be in a perhaps continuous tradition from the fifth to the thirteenth century A.D.[181] These wares share certain familiar qualities; the pottery is made of levigated clay on a wheel, smooth-surfaced, oxidized to buff, and line-painted on the exterior in a matte paint which varies in color from red to brown. Many of the potential good qualities of this class of common ware were notably lacking in the production of the fifth century A.D.: the wheel was indubitably slow, the walls thick and uneven, the forms clumsy and awkward, and the 'line-painting' had lost all semblance of deliberation.

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[181] D. B. Whitehouse (1966; Hurst, ed., 1969; 1978) has established the likely continuity of the tradition of painted common ware in the south of Italy throughout the middle ages.

There is no evidence of continuity in the production of such common wares during the early Empire; for instance, there is no evidence of a comparable ware in the first and second century A.D. deposits at San Giovanni. The painted common ware of the early imperial period in Italy is of a slightly higher technical level, generally being thinner-walled and showing a more even wall thickness. Painted common ware of the early empire can also be differentiated from the late painted common ware by its cream-colored (not orange-to buff) fabric[182] and by its very different paint, which is subtly shiny and which tends to mottle from orange to brown or from red to black.

It seems that the similarities of fabric between the painted common ware of the fifth century A.D. and the wares produced in southern Italy hundreds of years earlier must derive simply from the fact that the pottery industry of the fifth century A.D. and later was exploiting materials and methods similar to those in use in the same area in earlier times.

At present the localization of manufacture to one site is only a preliminary hypothesis. A tentative experiment with neutron activation analysis of the fabric, using sherds of painted common ware from San Giovanni and Metaponto, indicated that the two fabrics were likely to be from different sources of clay.[183] Although this result suggests that the paste of the samples came from different clay beds, this would not necessarily prove that more than one workshop produced such a ware. On the other hand, the result tends to support a hypothesis that the ware was made at more than one site, and that similarities in appearance of fabric, form and decoration styles in different examples of the ware were due to general fashion trends.

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[182] This color difference is noted by T. W. Potter in "Recenti ricerche in Etruria meridionale: problemi della transizione dal tardo antico all'alto medioevo", *Archeologia Medievale* II (1975), p. 221.

The thickness of the walls is often uneven, varying vertically, a fact which indicates that the potter was using a slow wheel.[184] The thickness of the walls also varies due to the characteristics of the individual forms. In general, earlier forms and earlier pieces tend to have slightly thinner walls. In a random sample of 23 wall sherds, the range of maximum wall thickness is from 0.4 cm to 1.3 cm, with a median thickness of 0.6 cm.

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[183] This work was undertaken by Dr. M. J. Apps, Research Associate of the Faculty of Pharmacy and Pharmaceutical Sciences at the University of Alberta and by J. Freed in the spring of 1980; a preliminary notice "Identification of the Provenance of Production of Fifth Century A.D. Italian Pottery" was published in the *Annual Report of the University of Alberta Slowpoke Facility* (November, 1980), p. R26.

[184] F. D'Andria, in his discussion of a few pieces of painted common ware from Late Antique tombs displayed in the Museo Ridola at Matera, notes that the pieces were made on the "tornio lento", and that this is an indication of the extinction of traditional classical artisan techniques in the general area. "Necropoli tardoantiche ed altomedievale (Vetrine LXXX, LXXXI)" in *Il Museo Nazionale Ridola di Matera*, Matera, 1976, p. 139. The pieces he discusses are probably later than the painted common ware from San Giovanni and less well made, but the criticism is valid for the San Giovanni ware as well.

Subjectively, the ware gives the impression of being very hard. The hardest pieces have a clear ringing tone, while softer pieces produce a resonant chinking sound. Objective measures present some difficulty, as they require damaging the sherd. I followed a simple standard of observation suggested by D. P. S. Peacock for Roman ceramics from Carthage,[185] in terms of which 'soft' means 'scratched with fingernail', 'hard' means 'scratched with penknife', and 'very hard' means 'does not scratch with penknife'. In a sample of 21 sherds examined in the summer of 1980, two pieces were classed as soft, five pieces were on the borderline between soft and hard, ten pieces were classed as hard, two pieces on the borderline between hard and very hard, and two pieces were classed as very hard; that is, two-thirds of the sample was in fact quite hard, if not so hard as to resist a steel blade.

Variation in hardness correlates with variation in color of fabric. The fabric of the softest sherds is light orange in color, while the hardest are greenish beige. The greenish beige color, which is certainly due to overfiring, is rare.[186]

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[185] D. P. S. Peacock, "Ceramics in Roman and Medieval Archaeology", in *Pottery and Roman Commerce*, (London, 1977), Table 2, p. 29.

[186] Greenish common ware received a special classification in *Ostia II*. Occasional deformations of rims and walls were noted in this 'ware', which was identified by fabric color. The subsequent conclusion that the pieces were over-fired common ware and did not merit a separate classification was based on the evidence of the find of a kiln waste-heap on the Janiculum from the Flavian era. Cf. Andreina Ricci, "Ceramica 'verdastra'", *Ostia II* (1970), p. 90.

G. Surface Treatment

Whether plain or painted, the exterior surface of the ware is always self-slipped, matte and very smooth. The interior surface is characterized by extremely fine horizontal striations, spaced fractions of a millimeter apart, which are probably the tracks of the potter's fingertips in the wet surface of the clay. This trait is diagnostic of the ware: it is always visible unless the piece is particularly soft and worn.

Estimating from the frequency of painted decoration among the catalogued pieces, approximately seventy-five percent of sherds in the ware are painted. It is practically certain, therefore, that every vessel in the ware originally had some paint treatment. Evidently a watery solution of clay, with a chemical composition slightly different from that of the clay of the pottery fabric, was made up and used as a paint.[187]

The application of the paint is distinctive. It was applied with a brush, especially to the rim, handles and outer wall of the vessel. Splashed spots on the interior and exterior often indicate the speed and carelessness with which the work was done. Occasionally tailing brush marks indicate that the brush used was too large for any artistic or representational intention to be sustained even if it had been intended.

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[187] The composition of the paint was discussed and examined under a 60-power microscope with Dr. Dorian Smith of the Department of Earth Sciences at the University of Alberta in May, 1982. He advised against analysis of the paint by scanning techniques, since observation under a microscope revealed that the paint is made up of minute conglomerations of variegated material. Since the paint is only a few microns thick against a background of the clay fabric, it would require a major research project to determine its composition.

Bowls meant as individual serving pieces are exceptional, as the entire inner surface of the bowl generally received an even matte slip, often of a heavier consistency than the paint which appears on other forms. This treatment imitates the style of slip on contemporary African Red Slip bowls.

There is no variation in the general style of the application of the paint during the long life of the ware on the San Giovanni site. Some of the profiles of the ware used to illustrate this thesis do not show the application of the paint. Accurate illustration of the paint on each vessel is meaningless since the paint is always applied randomly; it is the *style* of the application which is distinctive. Drawings in which the paint is accurately illustrated demonstrates this style; among them, P1469* (small amphora, SG Form 1), P3351* (jug with plain carinated rim, SG Form 2), P3145* (small bowl with lipped carinated rim, SG Form 24 Variant), P3758* (flanged spouted bowl, SG Form 42), P3539* and P3119* (wide-mouthed jar, SG Form 43) and P3607* (small globular pot with vertical rim, SG Form 61).

H. Range of Color of Surface and Paint

The surface of the late Roman painted common ware appears in a range of colors in the orange to buff family and when it is painted the color of the paint also varies. Color of fabric and paint may vary even across the surface of an individual sherd. This fact indicates that the color variation is not due to a variation in the elemental composition of the paste or paint; it is mainly due to the heat of firing, although it may also be affected by the degree of oxidation in the kiln. Some sherds have been discolored to grey or grey brown by fire after they were broken and discarded.

Both fabric and paint colors vary with hardness of firing. In general the orange sherds are least hard and resonant, while the greenish beige sherds are hardest and have the highest resonant tone. Some combinations of fabric and paint color are more likely to appear together than others. The softest orange sherds often bear very light-colored paint, orange and even pink in color, and are most likely to have worn surfaces which have lost all trace of paint. Most commonly, the fabric surface is light orange to buff, and the paint red to red brown. Paint on the very hard greenish beige sherds is always black or very near black. Ranking paint colors from light to dark and correlating associated fabric colors indicates that fabric and paint colors change with increasing hardness and firing temperature.[188]

I. Decoration

A number of different styles of plastic as opposed to painted decoration appear on late Roman painted common ware on the San Giovanni site. Certain types of decoration characteristically appear on the shoulder or upper body of the forms. The earliest plastic decoration that appears on the shoulder of a vessel is composed of lines incised freehand after the application of the paint. In the most common decoration, which succeeds the earlier style, the paint is applied *over* horizontal combing, which is often drawn in wavy lines.[189] Very unusual are pieces decorated sparely with vertical rows of dots made with a comb. Stick-drawn wavy lines also appear, though rarely, and are contemporary with combed decoration.

Several other identifiable types of decoration occur. The most important of these is composed of fine horizontal striations on the exterior lower wall and base; this appears on both closed forms and bowls in contexts dated after the middle of the fifth century A.D.[100] Several examples of the bowl with lipped carinated rim (SG Form 24) bear horizontal lines of simple rouletting on the interior wall. Applied 'buttons' occasionally occur on the flange of the flanged spouted bowl and on related forms. Dents, cross-hatching and a variety of imprinted designs appear rarely.

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[188] A graph showing the associations of fabric and paint colors appears in my article "Una ceramica comune del quinto secolo" (1980), p. 12.

[189] One wall sherd in late Roman painted common ware from an unidentified jug form (P0709), from a context probably of Period III outside the 1980 stratigraphic analysis of the San Giovanni site, shows these two types of decoration in combination. The incised decoration on P0709 makes no visual sense, in contrast to the examples of incised line decoration listed below.

Incised Line Decoration

Since the painted common ware with incised line decoration is both unusual and easily identifiable, practically every piece excavated was catalogued. A design drawn free-hand was incised in the shoulder of the vessel through the painted slip with a sharp, narrow instrument, leaving a shiny narrow grooved line. This decoration was added after the slip had been applied and when the pottery had become leather-hard, requiring an additional step in the manufacturing process.

The design was made up from a small repertoire of motifs; horizontal zigzags, wavy lines and straight lines, or loose spirals arranged around the pot shoulder and often placed dependent from a straight line. At San Giovanni the decoration was most common on the shoulder of a closed form, most probably a jug or pitcher, and on the small globular pot with vertical rim (SG Form 61). The decoration style evidently does not appear on the amphora or any of the large service pieces. Wall sherds with this decoration are often relatively thin-walled and quite small, due to the comparative fragility of the original pots.

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[100] Combing, wavy combing, stick-drawn wavy lines and horizontal striations on the lower exterior wall and base all appear occasionally on coarse ware from contemporary contexts at San Giovanni.

Comparanda for this type of decoration on painted common ware from other sites are rare. A single example was recovered from the excavation of a late Roman villa site at Atella. Two matte red painted sherds evidently belong to a single closed form with a vertical neck and plain vertical rim; the incised decoration on the shoulder consists of two zigzag lines from the lower of which a spiral line depends.[191] A small jug decorated with incised wavy lines and dependent spirals was excavated at Grumento.[192] A wall sherd with this type of decoration, a zigzag line and possible dependent spiral incised in what may be the shoulder of a large jug, was included in a display of stratified material from the 1975 season of the 'Castrum' excavation at the Museo di Metaponto in 1977. Much farther afield, Charleston, in his illustrated *Roman Pottery*, shows a storage jar in a grey clay with a decoration of incised spirals done in a very comparable style.[193]

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[191] For the Atella site and this piece, see notes 152 and 232 above. The rim diameter of the piece is 8.0 cms. The latest datable fine wares from the Atella site, an example of Hayes African Red Slip Form 53 B, and a base with decoration of stamp type A(ii), suggest a date c. 400 A.D.

[192] The jug from Grumento (inventory no. 52353) was mentioned in note 151. The piece is tentatively dated to the fourth or fifth century A.D. by the excavator, Dott.sa Liliana Giardino.

Fifteen of eighteen catalogued pieces decorated with incised lines were found in stratigraphic contexts relevant to the late site; these were almost exclusively concentrated in destruction material of Late Period I and in Midden I, which represents occupation material of Period II. The concentration of this decoration style in the area of Midden I and its concentration especially in Context 5* (Lower Midden I) indicates that at San Giovanni the type dates to the last quarter of the fourth and the first quarter of the fifth centuries A.D.

All stratified sherds with incised line decoration are catalogued here, since the majority do not betray evidence of their form classification. Drawn examples are illustrated on Plate 17.

Context 3:* c. 375 A.D./

P3612 is an example of the small globular pot with vertical rim (Form 61); P1263 is a jug of uncertain form classification. Note that P1507 has the greenish beige surface that signifies an over-fired vessel in this ware.

1. P1263 ws light orange red paint
   Incised wavy zigzag line above horizontal line.
2. P1507 ws greenish beige no paint

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[193] The piece is in the Colchester and Essex Museum. Charleston notes that the decoration occurs on 'Upchurch' and other Celtic-influenced grey or black wares. The suggested date of the example is the late third or fourth century A.D.; R. J. Charleston, *Roman Pottery*, (London, 1955), pl. 51 and pp. 34-35.

Incised tight zigzag line between two horizontal lines.

3. P3612 rd 8.0 light orange redbrown paint

Incised zigzag line on upper wall.

*Context 5** /c. 375-c. 425 A.D./

P1404* is an example of SG Form 61. P1491* is a wall sherd from the shoulder of an unidentified jug form. P1491* and P1640 are fire darkened.

4. P1397 ws dull brown red paint

Incised zigzag line.

5. P1404* rd 8.0 buff redbrown paint

Incised zigzag line between straight lines, possible spirals depend from lower line.

6. P1424 ws red red paint

Incised horizontal line with dependent spiral.

7. P1491* ws grey beige grey paint

Incised zigzag line above straight line above zigzag line above line of upturned incised curls.

8. P1573 ws dull brown orange brown paint

Incised relaxed wavy lines above straight line above partial spirals which probably depend from the line.

9. P1640 ws dark grey black paint

Incised zigzag line above horizontal line above diagonal lines.

10. P1641 ws light orange red paint

Incised double wavy zigzag line separated by a horizontal line.

*Context 6** /c. 425-c. 460 A.D./

P1451* is an example of SG Form 61, the small globular pot with vertical rim, while P1452* is a wall sherd from the shoulder of a fairly large unidentified jug form.

11. P1451* rd 9.0 orange red paint

Two lightly incised zigzag lines below rim.

12. P1452* ws light orange redbrown paint

Alternating incised zigzag and horizontal lines, with dependent spirals.

13. P1650 ws light orange brown paint

Incised horizontal line above zigzag line, intersecting curved line.

Context 9 /c. 460 A.D.

All other examples of this decoration appear on the shoulders of closed forms, but here the decoration appears on the interior floor of a bowl. P3299 is classed as SG Form 21, the bowl with plain rim. No doubt the intended effect was a rudimentary imitation of contemporary stamped and grooved African red slip bowls.

14. P3299 bd 9.0 orange redbrown paint

Two inner incised lines, three incised zigzag lines.

Context 14 /c. 530 + A.D.

Another example of the decoration style appears in topsoil, again close to the area of Midden I. The form is a fairly large jug.

15. P1186 ws dull brown brown paint

Two incised zigzag lines separated by straight line.

Combing and Wavy Combing

The freehand drawn incised line decoration was replaced on the San Giovanni site at the beginning of the second quarter of the fifth century A.D. by a new style of decoration drawn around the pot with a four- or five-toothed narrow comb as the pot turned on the wheel.

There is a limited amount of variety in the application of combing. A line of wavy combing may appear alone, or a line or lines of wavy combing may be combined with straight horizontal lines of combing. The wavy combed lines may be more or less loosely drawn. Combing is a simple but visually very effective decoration style.

While the incised decoration was done after the application of the paint, the varieties of combed decoration were always applied on the wheel while the vessel was being worked and therefore before the application of the paint. This means that the decoration style could be very easily integrated into a commercial manufacturing process.

Although this decoration style is more common than other types of decoration at San Giovanni, it does not appear on more than fifteen percent of San Giovanni catalogued examples of the ware. Combed decoration is associated with the large forms of late Roman painted common ware at San Giovanni; it is most common on the flanged spouted bowl (SG Form 42) (eighteen of forty-seven examples) and the wide-mouthed jar (SG Form 43) (eleven of forty-seven examples), and seems to have been introduced as a suitable decoration for these forms. It also appears on a variety of other late forms in the ware. Its appearance on closed forms is notably rare.

Combing appears in diverse cultural periods.[114] Wavy combing is common all around the Mediterranean from the fourth century A.D. It appears on the painted common ware from San Giovanni, and on a small percentage of the examples of the related wares from Calle di Tricarico and from the Castrum excavation at Metaponto.

At Luni, examples of wavy combing on common ware "amphoras" were found in surface contexts dated from the fourth to seventh centuries A.D.[115] At Albintimilium, it occurs on wall sherds in a late Roman context.[116] A single example of the decoration style occurs among material from the church at Santa Prisca in Rome;[117] there are examples from the Lombard tombs at Fiesole,[198] at Mazzano[199] and at the villa of the late Empire at Piazza Armerina in Sicily.[200]

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[114] Combing and wavy combing were commonly used by Gaulish peoples as pottery decoration in Republican times. Lamboglia notes an example of combed decoration in a late Republican context at Albintimilium, and compares it to a piece of the fifth century B.C. from the excavation by Almagro at Ampurias; cf. M. Almagro in "Ceramica griega gris del siglo VI y V antes de J. C. en Ampurias", *Rivista di Studi Liguri* 40 (1949), p. 121. Lamboglia sees the decoration style as showing the continuation of a Massiliote (or Phocaean) ceramic tradition down to Augustan times. The particular piece at Albintimilium is a thin-walled wall sherd in a pale grey ware, *Albintimilium* (1950), fig. 70 and p. 130, no. 6.

[115] Antonio Frova, ed., *Scavi di Luni: Relazione preliminare delle campagne di scavo 1970-1971*, in three volumes, (Rome, 1973), CM 1844, pl. 111, fig. 3, cols. 221 and 454, et al.

[116] Lamboglia, *Albintimilium* (1950), fig. 102, no. 32 and p. 179; fig. 99, no. 61 and p. 172.

[117] Vermaseren and Van Essen, (1965), pl. CXXV, no. 3.

[118] Cf. O. von Hessen (1966), pls. 14 and 15; also (1968), p. 7 and pl. 20, nos. 79, 100 and 101.

There is no firm consensus on a date for the widespread appearance of combing and wavy combing in Italy. T. W. Potter has suggested that wavy combing may be of importance in filling the gap in datable material which occurs from about 600 to the eighth century A.D.; but this suggestion has been rejected by David Whitehouse, who asserts that it is impossible to find special chronological significance in the appearance of combing and wavy combing in medieval contexts.[201]

Proof for the existence of a Mediterranean- or European-wide cultural context in the early medieval period is necessarily weak because of the fragmentary nature of the evidence, but is supported by the very wide geographic range of wavy combing and stick-drawn wavy lines throughout the medieval period.

Published examples show wavy combing used to decorate the heavy rim of a jar at Pompaelo in Spain,[202] In fourth and particularly fifth century contexts at Conimbriga in Portugal it is used to decorate a number of heavy forms not known at San Giovanni.[203] It also appears on unfamiliar forms from fifth and sixth century contexts at Khirbat al-Karak in the Jordan Valley.[204]

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[199] Cf. T. W. Potter, "Excavations in the Medieval Centre of Mazzano Romano", *PBSR* 40 (1972), fig. 5, esp. sherds 5 and 6. Potter suggests an eight or ninth century date for these pieces, largely based on a very late date for Forum ware, p. 142.

[200] Cf. Carmine Ampolo et al., "La villa del Casale a Piazza Armerina", *MEFR* 83 (1971), fig. 160 and p. 272.

[201] Cf. T. W. Potter, "Recenti ricerche" (1975), pp. 220-221, where he also lists several more unpublished Italian findspots of combing and wavy combing. Against this, cf. Whitehouse, "Medieval Painted Pottery" (1978), p. 478.

The earliest context in which the decoration appears on the San Giovanni site is Upper Midden I (Context 6*); in five of the seven cases on the flanged spouted bowl (Form 42), which first occurs in this context. The decoration therefore certainly does not appear before 425 A.D. at San Giovanni; and it essentially replaces the freehand drawn incised decoration, which seems to end c. 425 A.D.

Wavy combing appears in Contexts 6*, 9, 12* (Midden IV), 13* and 14 (see Table VI). Eighteen of fifty catalogued examples appear in Context 12*. Its marked association with Period III contexts at San Giovanni suggests that it is not really established before the middle of the fifth century A.D.

Since this style of decoration is very common at San Giovanni and has usually been catalogued on pieces which have a specific form, individual examples are not listed here, but are noted with the catalogue of forms, except for the piece below.

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[202] M. A. Mezquiriz de Catalan, *La excavacion estratigrafica de Pompaelo I*, (Pamplona, 1958) fig. 132, no. 26 and p. 283; the context is third or fourth century A.D. according to the excavator.

[203] *Conimbriga V* (1975), pl. XLI, fig. 787 et al. and note on page 103.

[204] P. Delougaz and R. C. Haines, *A Byzantine Church at Khirbat al-Karak*, (U. of Chicago, 1960); there is an unfamiliar jar form in a soft pinkish fabric with red painted bands, pl. 39, fig. 12; also wall sherds with the combing used vertically, pl. 42.

*Context 6** /c. 425-c. 460 A.D./

P1094* (Plate 15) bears an unusual application of discontinuous wavy combing in crisscross diagonal lines to the lower exterior wall of a large flat base; it may be the base of a flanged bowl (SG Form 42).

P1094*	bd 16.5	dull brown	brown black paint

Stick-Drawn Wavy Lines

A very simple stick-drawn wavy line is used rarely as an alternative to combing to ornament the shoulder of vessels. There are only six examples of this decoration style in stratified late contexts from San Giovanni.

Four forms are represented: the flanged spouted bowl (P1990*, SG Form 42, Pl. 11), the wide-mouthed jar (P3761, SG Form 43), the wide-mouthed spouted bowl with carinated wall (P3113*, Form 45, Pl. 14), and the double-handled pot with triangular rim (P3736*, SG Form 51 Variant, Pl. 15).

An example of this type of decoration was seen in the Museo Ridola at Matera on a tiny jug which was excavated from late Roman tombs at Calle di Tricarico in 1932.[205] The jug has no equivalent form classification at San Giovanni. Three stick-drawn lines decorate the shoulder of a large globular pot with vertical rim from the Castrum excavation at Metaponto. Again, the form has no parallel at San Giovanni.[206] Both pieces impress me as likely to be later than the forms from San Giovanni.

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[205] The jug is displayed in Case CXVIII. For the excavation, cf. E. Mele, "Tricarico. Necropoli romana ad inumazione in Calle", *NSA* 1935, pp. 190 ff., and cf. also Bracco, *NSA* 1949, pp. 132 ff.

In northern Italy, stick-drawn wavy lines occur on late pieces at Albintimilium[207] and at Luni, where the decoration style appears in the same fourth to seventh century contexts as combing.[208] They also appear as decoration on heavy carinated basins from Ostia.[209] Outside Italy, the decoration occurs in contexts of the fourth to sixth centuries A.D. at the Athenian Agora[210] and on sixth century amphoras at Saraçhane near Istanbul.[211]

The evidence from San Giovanni implies that stick-drawn wavy lines are contemporary with combing and wavy combing.

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[206] The jug displayed had no visible inventory number. I estimated a rim diameter of about 15 cms for this jug, and a maximum diameter of between 25 to 30 cms. The piece has a horizontal handle on its lower shoulder and a line of vertical indentations decorate the exterior of its thickened vertical rim.

[207] Lamboglia, *Albintimilium* (1950), p. 177, fig. 32.

[208] *Scavi di Luni* (1973), C 312, pl. 73, fig. 27, col. 421, et al.

[209] *Ostia* 1 (1968), pl. XXII, XXIII, figs. 430-435 and p. 96. The context is dated to the third century A.D.

[210] According to M. Gianelli, *Ostia I* (1968), p. 96.

[211] J. W. Hayes, "A Seventh Century Pottery Group", p. 215 in "Excavations at Saraçhane", by R. Martin Harrison and Nezih Firatlı, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 22 (1968), pp. 201-216. The context is dated c. 550-650 + A.D.

*Context 6** /c. 425-c. 460 A.D./

P1341* is a wall sherd from the shoulder of a fairly large unidentified jug form.

1. P1341* ws light orange red paint

Stick-drawn wavy lines alternate with grooves.

*Context 12** /c. 460-c. 530 A.D./

2. P3113* rd 22.0 light orange red paint

Double tight wavy line drawn with double-pointed stick above carination.

3. P3761 rd 44.0 dull brown dark brown paint

Two stick-drawn wavy lines and grooves in wall.

*Context 13** /c. 530 A.D.

4. P1990* rd 37.0 orange brown paint

Ridged rim and flange, wavy stick-drawn line on flange.

Context 14 /c. 530 + A.D.

5. P1069 ws light orange orange paint

Double wavy line drawn with double-pointed stick.

6. P3736* rd 14.0 light orange light orange paint

Stick-drawn wavy line on shoulder.

Stabbed Combing

While combing and wavy combing are the most common decoration style seen on the late Roman painted common ware at San Giovanni, a related type of decoration, stabbed combing forming vertical lines of dots on the rim or wall, is very rare. Off the site, an example of this decoration style appears with other combed decoration on coarse ware of the fourth and fifth century A.D. at Carthage.[212]

It appears on the rim of SG Form 64, which seems to be an early form in the ware, and twice on wall sherds which are from the shoulders of unidentified jug forms. Since it is so rare, it is impossible to date this type accurately, but it seems to appear earlier than other combed decoration. Examples are illustrated on Plate 17.

*Context 5** /c. 375-c. 425 A.D./

P1237* is the shoulder of a jug. P1554* is a bowl or jar with flared rim (SG Form 64). A rim of the same form, with very similar stabbed combing, was found in topsoil in Zone 1.

1.	P1237*	ws	orange	no paint
2.	P1554*	rd 19.0	dull grey brown	no paint

*Context 13** /c. 530 A.D.

P1326* is a wall sherd from the shoulder of an unidentified globular jug form. The stabbed combing has been drawn slightly horizontally.

3.	P1326*	ws	light orange	red paint

Fine Horizontal Striations on Lower Exterior Wall

Deliberately drawn fine horizontal ridges or striations are fairly common as a decorative motif on the ware, usually appearing on the lower third of the exterior wall and over the bottom of the base. The striation lines are spaced from 1 to 3 mms apart, and are irregularly shallow, drawn with a comb while the pot turned on the wheel.

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[212] J. Deneauve, "Un depotoir paléochrétien sur la colline de Byrsa à Carthage", *Antiquités Africaines* 8 (1974), p. 143, fig. 10, 18.

This decoration type appears on bowls, service pieces such as the wide-mouthed jar, and occasionally on jugs or amphoras. Because the decoration is restricted to the base of the vessel, it is likely that it is underrepresented on catalogued examples of closed forms, since most catalogued examples of these forms are rims. Bowls are more likely to yield complete profiles, since relatively more sherds from bowls are diagnostic, encouraging reconstruction, and therefore a relatively large number of bowls with this decoration style have been identified.

The only example of this decoration which I have noted from another site was on a large base, probably of an amphora, among the late Roman painted common ware from Calle di Tricarico.[213] At San Giovanni, it first appears in Context 9 (P1738, the base of an amphora, and P1889*, the base of a small closed jug), which suggests a date after 460 A.D. It is especially common on bowls in Context 12* (Midden IV). Nine of seventeen catalogued examples appear in this context; of the nine, seven are bowls. The distribution of the catalogued examples suggests that the type appears after the middle of the fifth century A.D.

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[213] For details on the collection, see note 149. The particular piece has a very slightly defined pad base, a base diameter of about 16 cms, and is very hard-fired.

Ordinary examples of this decoration style are noted as they appear in the catalogue of forms. An unusual, and probably late, related decoration style is listed here.

Context 14

In this case, the horizontal striations appear on the shoulder of a vessel which is probably a jug, and the area is lightly indented by a stick held slightly off the vertical.

1.	P1088	ws	light brown	dark brown paint

J. Forms of Painted Common Ware at San Giovanni

Late Roman painted common ware at San Giovanni appears in a wide variety of forms, including jugs, bowls and large service pieces. Most of these are distinctively characteristic of the ware; their identification is therefore usually a firm criterion for the ware.

Forty-three forms have been identified on the San Giovanni site; of these, three, almost equally common, are dominant and recur repeatedly with little change. They are the small amphora (SG Form 1), the flanged spouted bowl (SG Form 42), and the deep wide-mouthed storage jar with heavy rolled rim (SG Form 43).

Certain other forms of jugs, service pieces, bowls and pots are also particularly characteristic of the ware. In addition, a variety of small and large pots, jugs, pitchers, bowls and lids appear as unique or very unusual forms.

I have grouped the forms in the ware under four headings:

1. Closed Forms: Small Amphora, Jugs, Pitchers (SG Forms 1-12)
2. Bowls: Open Forms for Individual Table Service
    a. Forms Specific to Late Roman Painted Common Ware (SG Forms 21-24)
    b. Forms Imitating Imported Fine Wares (SG Forms 28-34)
3. Service Pieces: Open Forms Designed for Food Preparation, Storage and General Table Service (SG Forms 41-53)
4. Miscellaneous: Miniatures, Lids (SG Forms 61-67)

Forms within these major groups are numbered in the order in which they appear in chronologically ordered stratigraphic contexts: the relative order of the number within the category shows a presumed chronological relationship.

The forms of the late Roman painted common ware present some special difficulties in terms of classification. Many are not perfectly symmetrical around a vertical axis; for instance, pinched rims, spouts, handles and applied decoration occur on some catalogued pieces but are missing on others which are in fact examples of the same form. Because very few pieces can be considered to be complete profiles, absolute certainty of the essential characteristics of a form cannot be achieved.

Complete profiles exist for only eight forms: of closed vessels, the jug with plain carinated rim (SG Form 2); of bowls, the bowl with plain rim (SG Form 21), the bowl with lipped carinated rim and base ring (SG Form 24), the small bowl with lipped rim (SG Form 24 Variant) and the bowl with wide horizontal scalloped rim (SG Form 32); of service pieces, the wide-mouthed jar (SG Form 53) and the funnel with carinated rim (SG Form 53); of miscellaneous forms, the small globular pot with vertical rim (SG Form 61). Forms for which complete profiles exist are underlined. In addition, a reconstruction of the complete profile of the small amphora (SG Form 1) is suggested on good evidence.

The numbers of pieces which are illustrated (Plates 6 to 17) are marked with a star. Pieces for which complete profiles exist are italicized. Profiles to scale for all the catalogued pieces allow them to be accurately assigned to form classifications.

Closed Forms

The most numerous closed form is the small amphora; forty-one examples were catalogued in late period stratigraphic contexts on the San Giovanni site. It is the most common of all the forms in late Roman painted common ware. Both the small amphora and the smaller jug with plain carinated rim are characteristic of the ware. These two forms vary very little chronologically.

Less common jug and pitcher forms also occur in the ware. They show a great deal of variation; it is difficult to define convincing classifications of form for the majority of these. Rims in particular seem to be affected by changes in fashion. Ridged rims tend to appear in contexts of the mid-fifth century A.D. and knobbed rims in those of the second half of the century. (A parallel trend can be seen in the bowl forms.)

In general, closed forms have vertical strap handles. A variant, a twisted handle, occurs on one jug form (SG Form 5) and a somewhat similar handle appears on an example of the pitcher with trefoil rim (SG Form 12). Other examples of this type of handle cannot be assigned to a particular form.

The larger closed forms have very round globular bodies, while smaller ones tend to be pear-shaped. Most closed forms in late Roman painted common ware at San Giovanni have simple flat or nearly flat bases; only a very few examples of pad bases and bases with base rings have been discovered.

There is no certain example of decoration on a small amphora or on a jug with plain carinated rim. A few jugs and pitchers do have wavy combing, and this decoration also occurs on two wall sherds from unidentified closed forms.

Form 1: Small Amphora

Forty-one examples of the late Roman common ware small amphora were catalogued on the San Giovanni site. It is the most common form in the ware.

The form is distinguished by a thickened lip, with a slight ridge below, a short neck, and a very round body. The double strap handles are smoothed on at the lip and extend out perpendicularly to the rim of the amphora, bending around a ninety degree angle to meet the upper body. No certain example with base complete or identifiable has been excavated. A plain flat base is likely, since this is by far the most common base for both open and closed forms. A base which is most likely to be that of a small amphora (P3826*) is catalogued below.

The small amphora is consistent in size. The rim diameter of the form ranges from 8.0 to 11.0 cms. A likely reconstruction of the amphora can be suggested, using the evidence of rim and handle P1469*, body P3824* and base P3826*, all of which are compatible in size. The dimensions in centimeters of the resulting hypothetical 'type piece' are as follows: rim diameter 9.0, maximum diameter 24.0, base diameter 13.0, height 32.0, wall thickness 0.55. This is a typical size for the form, which held about two liters of liquid.

As the form is closed, the casual application of paint typical of the ware is found on the exterior and just over the inside of the rim only. Although the color of surface and paint can vary a good deal, of forty-one examples, only one piece is noticeably over-fired (P3545), and no example is underfired.

Ordinarily the form bears no plastic decoration except for a very slight ridge on the neck just below the rim. A base in Midden IV (P3826*) has the faint horizontal striations on the exterior which are a characteristic decoration of the ware (but not necessarily of the small amphora) in the second half of the fifth century A.D.

While the small amphora is the most common form in late painted common ware at San Giovanni, certain examples from other sites are rare. Two were seen among the pieces of late painted common ware from Calle di Tricarico. One was exactly similar to the most common version of the form at San Giovanni. The rim diameter of the piece is 11 centimeters. Another, with a slightly larger rim (12 cms in diameter), is noticeably thin-walled, and has three to four delicate grooves just below the rounded rim. A form similar to the small amphora has also been attested in the Biferno valley in the Molise,[214] and a form from Lucera in a possibly medieval context may actually be an example of the small amphora.[215]

The form undergoes practically no variation from its first appearance on the San Giovanni site c. 375 A.D. to the end of the site in the early sixth century A.D., although there is some correlation of thinner-walled amphoras with early contexts.

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[214] Richard Hodges, pers. comm., March 18, 1980; see note 164.

[215] Whitehouse, "Lucera" (1966); see note above.

Context 3* c. 375 A.D./

One example of the amphora appears in this, the earliest datable context in which late Roman painted common ware appears on the San Giovanni site. P1510 is rather thin-walled.

1.	P1510	rd 9.0	buff	red to redbrown paint

Context 4 c. 375 A.D.?

2.	P3832	12.0	grey brown	dark brown paint

Context 5* /c. 375-c. 425 A.D./

Two of the examples in lower Midden I are thin-walled and quite delicate.

3.	P1320	rd 9.5	buff	red paint
4.	P1349	rd 8.0	buff	black paint
5.	P1615	rd 8.5	buff	redbrown paint

Context 6* /c. 425-c. 460 A.D./

Two of these pieces are thin-walled and quite delicate (P1131, P1440).

6.	P1131	rd 9.0	orange	orange paint
7.	P1133	rd 11.0	orange	bright orange paint
8.	P1184*	rd 10.0	buff	brown black paint
	Faint ridges at rim.			
9.	P1440	rd 10.0	dull brown	brown black paint
10.	P1954	rd 10.0	light orange	red paint
11.	P1962	rd 11.0	buff	brown black paint
	Faint ridges at rim.			
12.	P3065	rd 11.0	light orange	dark brown paint

P1629 is unusually thick-walled.

13.	P1629	rd 11.0	buff	redbrown paint
14.	P1900	rd 11.0	light orange	brown paint

Context 9 /c. 460 + A.D.

Every amphora in this group is from Room 5.

15.	P1469*	rd 9.0	buff	redbrown paint

Faint ridges at rim.

16.	P1471	rd 9.0	orange	red paint
17.	P1738	bd 8.5	buff	orange paint

Very fine horizontal striations on lower wall.

18.	P1873	rd 9.5	orange	orange paint
19.	P1875	rd 9.0	buff	red orange paint
20.	P1876	rd 8.0	buff	red orange paint
21.	P3005	rd 9.0	dull brown	brown paint
22.	P3096	rd 9.0	orange	red orange paint

*Context 12** /c. 460-c. 530 A.D./

A large base (P3826*) of a closed form is included with this group.

23.	P1774	rd 8.5	buff	redbrown paint
24.	P3216*	rd 8.5	buff	redbrown paint

Both handles preserved.

25.	P3268	rd 8.0	dull brown	dark brown paint
26.	P3269	rd 9.0	light orange	redbrown paint
27.	P3341	rd 9.5	orange	red paint
28.	P3394	rd 10.0	light orange	red paint
29.	P3476	rd 10.0	orange	red paint
30.	P3751	rd 8.5	light orange	redbrown paint

31. P3754 bd 13.0 light orange brown paint

Fine horizontal striations on lower wall and base.

32. P3824* md 24.0 light orange red paint

Paint indicates two handles.

33. P3825 rd 8.0 light orange dark red paint

34. P3826* bd 13.0 buff brown paint

Faint fine striations on lower wall.

*Context 13** /c. 530 A.D./

Of the following examples, P1945 and P3711 are unusually thin-walled.

35. P1945 rd 8.0 orange red paint
36. P2040 rd 10.0 buff to brown brown paint
37. P3188 rd 9.0 pale buff dark red paint
38. P3545 rd 10.0 greenish beige black paint
39. P3631 rd 10.0 light orange redbrown paint
40. P3711 rd 11.0 light orange redbrown paint

Context 14 /c. 530 + A.D.

41. P3286 rd 10.0 light orange red brown paint

Form 2: *Jug with Plain Carinated Rim*

The jug with plain carinated rim is another characteristic long-lived form in the painted common ware. The form has a plain narrow carinated rim and a rather short neck. There is a range of variation in the rim treatment, but the rim always gives the impression of being simple and carinated. A few examples survive complete with a single handle. The handle is more round in section than the strap handles of the small amphora (SG Form 1). A simple flat base survives for *P3267**. It is not illustrated, but closely resembles base P1889*.

Most examples of the form are smaller than the amphora, but a few early examples have a comparable rim diameter. These larger examples have a very round globular body, like that of the amphora, while the more common smaller examples have a pear-shaped body.

*P3267** has fine horizontal striations on the lower wall and base, a decorative technique which appears in the mid-fifth century A.D. and is common on coarse and plain wares in contexts of the second half of the fifth century A.D. on the San Giovanni site. Ordinarily the form is not decorated.

Small versions of this type of jug appear among the material from Calle di Tricarico.[214] At San Giovanni, the earliest context in which the form appears is Lower Midden I; it therefore may appear on the San Giovanni site as early as c. 375 A.D. The form continues to the end of the site with no significant change.

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[214] A number of examples of this form, from Calle di Tricarico and elsewhere, were discussed by Maria Rosaria Salvatore in her paper "La ceramica tardo-romana e alto-medievale in Puglia e Basilicata alla luce delle ultime scoperte", presented at a Tavola Rotonda on the excavation at San Giovanni in Rome, July 4, 1981. Publication of papers from the conference is planned.

Context 5* /c. 375-c. 425 A.D./

P1361 is judged to belong to the the late Roman painted common ware by form and fabric. It does not, however, bear any trace of paint. Whether this is because it was never painted or because a thin application of paint has worn away cannot be determined with certainty.

1.	P1361	rd 9.0	pale buff surface	no paint
2.	P2502	rd 9.0	light orange	red paint

Sharply carinated rim.

Context 7 c. 340-c. 460 A.D.

A ridge on the shoulder of jug P3669* is the only decoration certainly appearing on the form.

3.	P3568	rd 7.5	light orange	dark brown paint
4.	P3669	rd 9.0	light orange	dark red paint

Context 8 c. 460 A.D./

5.	P1636	rd 6.0	orange	no paint

Context 9 /c. 460 + A.D.

P1889* is a flat base which belongs to a small pear-shaped jug form, quite possibly SG Form 2. It is very much like the base of _P3267*_.

6.	P1524	rd 6.5	light orange	red paint
7.	P1861	rd 5.5	pale buff	brown black paint
8.	P1889*	bd 6.5	dull brown	redbrown paint

Context 12* /c. 460-c. 530 A.D.

The rim of P3351* is almost complete, indicating that the form has a single handle, in this case a strap handle with a grooved back.

9.	P3134*	rd 5.0	buff	brown paint
10.	P3147	rd 5.0	dark grey brown, probably fire damage	
11.	P3193	rd 5.5	light orange	red paint
12.	P3267*	rd 5.5 bd 7.0	light orange	dark red paint
	Wide shallow groove in rim, fine horizontal striations on lower wall and base.			
13.	P3351*	rd 6.5	light orange to dull brown	red to redbrown paint
	Wide shallow groove in rim.			
14.	P3477	rd 7.0	light orange	redbrown paint
Context 13*				/c. 530 A.D./
15.	P3811	rd 6.0	light orange	redbrown paint
Context 14				/c. 530 + A.D.
16.	P1064	rd 5.5	buff	brown black paint
17.	P1066	handle	dull brown	brown black paint
18.	P3047	rd 6.0	dull brown	dark brown paint
19.	P3659	rd 6.0	brown	dark red paint

Form 3: Pitcher with Flared Trefoil Rim

Form 3 is a pitcher with a flared pinched rim and slight offset where the neck and shoulder join. All three examples catalogued here have a carinated neck. The form is essentially the same as SG Form 12, but the latter has the ridged rim which commonly appears in contexts of the second half of the fifth century A.D. SG Form 3 seems to be typical of Period II on the San Giovanni site.

*Context 5** /c. 375-c. 425 A.D./

Neither example of the form in Lower Midden I has any preserved decoration.

1. P1396 rd 6.0 light orange red paint
2. P1551 rd 6.0 dull brown black paint

*Context 6** /c. 425-c. 460 A.D./

P1151* may actually deserve a separate classification, as there is no evidence of a pinched rim. It has been discolored by fire; the fabric of P1554* (SG Form 64) in Lower Midden I and P1297* (SG Form 63) in Upper Midden I has the same effect.

3. P1151* rd 8.0 dull grey brown no paint

Form 4: Jug or Pitcher with Slightly Flared Rim

This form has a very slightly flared rim and plain rather short neck; two of the examples listed clearly have pinched rims. The body of P3285* is very round, which seems to be typical of larger versions of closed forms in late Roman painted common ware. Since the first context in which the form occurs is Upper Midden I, it appears in the second quarter of the fifth century A.D.

*Context 6** /c. 425-c. 460 A.D./

Only scraps of the rim of this form occur in this context. Estimates of rim diameter may be inaccurate if the rim was actually pinched to form a spout.

1. P1118 rd 10.0 dull brown no paint

2. P1136 rd 9.0 orange no paint

*Context 12** /c. 460-c. 530 A.D./

3. P3219 7.0 light orange red paint

Pinched rim.

Context 14 /c. 530 + A.D.

The most complete example of the form on the site was found in topsoil (P3285*). Here the form is clearly a pitcher with a pinched rim. The body of the piece is large, approaching the ordinary size of the small amphora. The piece is very nicely made, with a large area of alternating wavy combed and combed decoration on the upper wall.

P3619 is a small bit of rim; there is no evidence that it was pinched to form a spout.

4. P3285* rd 9.5 orange red paint

Pinched rim, alternating lines of combing and wavy combing on upper wall.

5. P3619 rd 7.0 light orange orange paint

Form 5: Jug with Beveled Rim

One example of this jug form (P3569*) has a very slightly flared beveled rim, a plain rather short neck, and a twisted handle. It may or may not have a pinched rim; there is no surviving evidence that the rim was pinched to form a spout. The second example (P3458) has an unusual amount of decoration on the neck.

Context 7 c. 340-c. 460 A.D.

1. P3569* rd 6.0 buff ex brown paint
light orange in red paint

*Context 13** /c. 530 A.D./

2. P3458 rd 7.0 orange orange paint
Ridges under beveled rim, tightly spaced line of wavy combing on neck.

Twisted Handles

The handle of P3569* (SG Form 5) is made up of five rolled clay strips twisted together loosely. This type of handle seems to occur only on closed vessels: a similar handle, not actually twisted, appears on P3114* (SG Form 12, the pitcher with ridged flared trefoil rim, in Midden IV). Four other examples of the twisted handle are listed here.

The distribution of examples in differently dated contexts suggests that this treatment of the handle could be early as well as late, although it may not occur before the middle of the fifth century A.D.

Context 9 /c. 460 + A.D.

1. P1883 handle pale buff no paint

*Context 12** /c. 460-c. 530 A.D./

2. P3124 handle buff red paint

*Context 13** /c. 530 A.D./

3. P3633 handle orange orange paint

Context 14 /c. 530 + A.D.

4. P3798 handle brown redbrown paint

Form 6: Jug with Long Vertical Neck, Knobbed Rim

This form is characterized by a vertical neck and a knobbed or lipped rim. Examples found at San Giovanni show only the neck and rim.

A more complete example of the form appears among the late Roman painted common ware found in association with kilns at Calle di Tricarico. The Calle form is distinguished by a knobbed rim with shallow ridges (rim diameter 9 cms) and a rather long vertical neck which joins a wide sloping shoulder. The neck and shoulder of the piece are decorated with alternating lines of combing and wavy combing. The piece has no evidence of a handle.

Four examples from San Giovanni appear in Midden IV, suggesting that the form is popular in the second half of the fifth century A.D. and later. The knobbed rim of SG Form 6 is therefore contemporary with knobbed rims on bowls such as African Red Slip Form 99 and SG Form 24 in late Roman painted common ware.

*Context 6** /c. 425-c. 460 A.D./

1. P1340* rd 9.0 pale buff redbrown paint

*Context 12** /c. 460-c. 530 A.D./

There are two variants; one is larger, and the neck is a simple vertical column. The second version is smaller, and the lower neck is contracted. The two examples of SG Form 6 A in Midden IV are fire darkened.

2. P1392 rd 9.0 dull brown brown black paint
3. P3162 rd 9.0 dull grey brown black paint
4. P3393* rd 5.0 buff redbrown paint

Line of wavy combing above carination on neck.

5. P3478 rd 8.0 orange red orange paint

Double stick-drawn wavy line on neck.

*Context 13** /c. 530 A.D./

6. P3549 rd 10.0 light orange red paint

Form 7: Jug or Pitcher with Thumb Rest at Rim

This form is distinguished by a thumb rest at the top of the rim and a small bump at the bottom of the handle attachment. The rims of the two examples are incomplete. The form is evidently comparatively small. The handle of the form is a round rolled handle instead of the strap handle which is more typical of the ware. These pieces appear in contexts of the middle and second half of the fifth century A.D.

Context 9 /c. 460 + A.D.

1. P1484* rd 5.5 grey brown brown paint

*Context 12** /c. 460-c. 530 A.D./

2. P1657 rd 7.0 dull brown dark brown paint

Form 8: Jug with Ridged Carinated Rim

The profile of this form is essentially similar to SG Form 2, but is distinguished from it by a clearly ridged rim. The most complete example of this form, P2002*, appears in an unstratified context.

Ridged rims first appear around the middle of the fifth century A.D. on a number of forms in the painted common ware and are common in the second half of the fifth century A.D. The date of this jug form is similar, judging by its distribution on the site.

Context 9 /c. 460 + A.D.

There is a small and a tiny version of SG Form 8 in this context.

1.	P1870	rd 7.0	dull brown	orange paint
2.	P1525	rd 3.5	dull brown	red to black paint

*Context 12** /c. 460-c. 530 A.D./

3.	P2034	rd 6.5	rose orange	red paint
4.	P3161*	rd 6.0	buff	dark brown paint

Form 9: Jug or Pitcher with Slightly Flared Ridged Rim

This form is distinguished from SG Form 4 by its ridged rim. The appearance of this form in Context 4, floor levels of Period II under Room 7, is entirely inconsistent with all other finds of ridged rims, and suggests that the context has been disturbed.

Context 4 c. 375 A.D.?

1. P3416 rd 7.0 dull brown dark brown paint

Context 8 c. 460 A.D./

2. P1914* rd 9.0 orange red paint

Form 10: Jug with Long Vertical Neck, Ridged Rim

The profile of this unique jug form is unusually complete. It has a fairly long narrow neck above a wide sloping shoulder. The neck widens to form the ridged vertical rim. A strap handle is attached at mid-neck and shoulder.

Ridged rims appear as part of the decorative idiom of the ware in the mid-fifth century A.D. The long narrow neck above a wide sloping shoulder can be seen in SG Forms 6, 10 and 11. This relation of neck to shoulder evidently appears in the mid-fifth century A.D., which is the date of this form judging by the context in which it appears.

Context 8 c. 460 A.D./

1. P1634* rd 6.0 greenish beige black paint
Ridges on rim, neck and shoulder.

Form 11: Small Amphora with Long Vertical Neck, Contracted Ridged Rim

This is another unique closed form from the same context as SG Form 10. Again a narrow vertical neck rises from a wide sloping shoulder and globular body. Strap handles originate at mid-neck and bend to join the body at the shoulder.

In this case the lack of paint raises a question as to whether the piece is properly identified as late Roman painted common ware. The ridged decoration at the rim and the profile of the neck and shoulder, however, are consistent with other closed forms in the ware and with the date of construction of the Period III building in Zone 3; that is, the middle of the fifth century A.D.

Context 8 c. 460 A.D./

1. P2075* rd 5.5 light orange no paint

Form 12: Pitcher with Ridged Flared Trefoil Rim

This form is essentially identical to SG Form 3 except that Form 12 has a ridged rim.

*Context 12** /c. 460-c. 530 A.D./

P3114* is the most complete example of the form and bears an unusual amount of decoration. The offset where the neck joins the shoulder is ornamented by vertical slashes and the shoulder bears a line of wavy combed decoration above ridges. The round handle is evidently made up of fused rolled lengths of clay, but it is not actually twisted. The fabric of P3114* is rather soft and underfired.

1. P3114* 7.0 dull brown redbrown paint

*Context 13** /c. 530 A.D./

The neck of P2055* has no carination and is shorter than usual for pitcher forms.

2. P2055* rd 7.5 light orange redbrown paint

Miscellaneous Closed Forms

Wall sherds and bases of some interest, which cannot be assigned a specific form classification, are listed here.

Three wall sherds are shoulders of closed forms which bear wavy combing as decoration.

Context 9 /c. 460 + A.D.

1. P1521 handle light orange redbrown paint
   Wavy combing on shoulder just above handle attachment.
2. P1663 ws dull brown brown black paint
   Three lines of wavy combing alternate with horizontal combing.

Context 10 c. 460 A.D.

3. P1388 ws brown dark brown paint
   Lines of combing and wavy combing alternate.

*Context 13** /c. 530 A.D./

4. P3514 ws orange red paint
   Two lines of very loose high wavy combing and small graffito '/HS'.

In general, bases of closed forms in late Roman painted common ware are nearly flat and extremely simple, but several variant bases have been excavated. In the first and third examples below, the paint covers the surviving exterior wall completely, but the base itself is reserved. This decoration style seems to be early.

*Context 5** /c. 375-c. 425 A.D./

P1618* is the base of a jug or pitcher with a very slight base ring, formed by undercutting the exterior of the base.

1.	P1618*	bd 9.0	buff	red paint
2.	P1426	bd 6.0	buff	brown paint

Base slightly undercut to form 'footring'.

Context 7 c. 340-c. 460 A.D.

3.	P1895	bd 6.5	buff	red paint
4.	P2501	bd 5.0	buff	redbrown paint

Pad base.

Context 14 /c. 530 + A.D.

A base (bd 13.0 cms) very similar to P1850* was seen among the pieces from Calle di Tricarico. This strongly profiled pad base belongs to a fairly large closed form with relatively thin walls.

5.	P1850*	bd 12.0	light orange	red paint

Form numbers 13 to 20 have been left open.

Bowls

Bowls have been divided into two sub-classes. There are two dominant bowl forms specific to late Roman painted common ware, of which the earlier, the bowl with plain rim and flat base, evolves into the later, the bowl with lipped carinated rim and base ring. This development clearly follows the fashion of the African Red Slip bowls. Midden I bowls in the painted common ware have plain rims, more or less flared walls and flat bases; these are trade marks of African Red Slip Forms 50 and 53, an ubiquitous bowl form in the fourth century A.D.; while the bowl with lipped or carinated rim and applied base ring which appears in Midden IV has certainly been influenced by the lipped rim of the later ARS Forms 61 B, 87 and 99, and the base ring of Form 87 and the series of Forms 96 to 99.

While bowl forms characteristic of the late Roman painted common ware are clearly influenced by the general trend of fashion in the African production, there is a group of usually unique bowls which are much more explicit copies of particular forms in African Red Slip and even in Phocaean Red Slip.

Both types of bowls, because of their dependence on the fashion in imported fine wares, provide a check on the dating of the contexts in which they appear. In general, it seems that the bowl types characteristic of the painted common ware follow behind the general fashion trend, responding to it slowly but irresistibly, while the more specific imitations are almost contemporary with the originals in the imported ware.

As noted previously in the discussion of surface treatments of the late Roman painted common ware, it is typical of bowls that the interior was originally completely slipped with a much thicker paint than is typical of forms in the ware other than bowls; while any paint on the exterior is casually splashed on, and usually restricted to the area just over the rim. This treatment is clearly meant to imitate the slip treatment on contemporary bowls in African Red Slip and Phocaean Red Slip.

Across the various forms, it is also clear that bowls generally cluster in two size ranges. The diameters of the larger-sized bowls vary from 24.0 to 32.0 centimeters, while a smaller group varies from 14.0 to 22.0 centimeters. Where this variation occurs, the larger type has been designated as type 'A' and the smaller variant as type 'B'.

Bowls: Forms Specific to Late Roman Painted Common Ware

Form 21: *Bowl with Plain Rim*

SG Form 21 is a simple bowl with a plain rounded rim and a flat base. The curve and angle of the wall varies, and there is no fixed ratio between rim and base diameter. Some examples almost suggest a carinated upper wall, while others have a more regular curve. There are two size variants, and the smaller size range (21 B) is more common.

Three complete profiles of this form were excavated on the San Giovanni site: *P0797* (unstratified; rd 26.0, bd 16.0), *P3218** and *P3111**.

The form appears as early as any form in late Roman painted common ware on the San Giovanni site. Bowls in contexts earlier than Period III are generally of this form. The form is superseded by SG Form 24, which is far more popular in Midden IV. A few examples of SG Form 21 appear in contexts of Period III, however; and P3218* in Midden IV and P3260 in topsoil have the fine horizontal striations on the lower exterior and base which are characteristic of the second half of the fifth century A.D.

*Context 3** c. 375 A.D./

P3043 is not certainly identified, but most likely belongs to this form classification, and indicates the likely existence of the form even in this earliest context for the ware. The piece is a base sherd of a bowl, with a graffito on the smoothed interior.

1.	P3043	base	pale buff	red paint

Graffito as the number '3' with an angled upper line.

*Context 5** /c. 375-c. 425 A.D./

P1560 has an unusually heavy application of slip or paint in its interior.

2.	P1560	rd 31.0	buff	redbrown paint

Context 6* /c. 425-c. 460 A.D./

A piece of a flat base (P1434) which most likely belongs to a plain low bowl is tentatively listed here; it bears a decorative motif composed of small crescent imprints in the interior of the base.

3. P1256* rd 17.0 orange red paint
4. P1434 base worn brown no paint

Context 9 /c. 460 + A.D.

P3299 is the base of a bowl with incised decoration on its interior, and is also catalogued above with examples of incised decoration.

5. P1482* rd 18.0 buff red paint

   Fine groove in upper edge of rim.

6. P3593* rd 19.0 buff red paint

   The wall of this bowl is flared rather than curved.

7. P3299 bd 9.0 orange redbrown paint

Context 12* /c. 460-c. 530 A.D./

Only two examples of SG Form 21 appear in Midden IV (occupation material of Period III). The first is of quite large diameter (21 A), the second is smaller (21 B). _P3111*_ carries the fingerprints of a large, almost certainly male hand, in red paint on its exterior. _P3218*_ has the fine horizontal striations on the exterior lower wall which is a fairly common decorative idiom in the second half of the fifth century A.D.

8. _P3111*_ rd 27.0 light orange red paint
   bd 10.0

9. *P3218**	rd 16.0	dull brown to	brown to black
	bd 8.0	greenish beige	paint

Fine horizontal striations on lower wall.

Context 14 /c. 530 + A.D.

A small version of this familiar form appears in topsoil.

10. P3260	rd 14.0	light orange	orange paint

Fine horizontal striations on exterior wall.

Form 21 Variant: Bowl with Plain Rim, Burnished Interior

The form of this small bowl is like SG Form 21 B, but the decorative treatment is unique. It is completely slipped in the interior, but in addition the interior has been burnished to a high sheen. The burnishing is done in narrow spiraling lines of alternating smoother and less smooth surfaces.

This treatment is of interest because it appears on three bowls in African Red Slip, as noted above, and occurs commonly on coarse ware bowls of a similar form and decoration style in Context 3* (destruction material of Period I) and Context 5* (Lower Midden I, early occupation material from Period II). The closest comparanda outside the San Giovanni site for this form and decoration style are African coarse ware bowls of Hayes Form 181, which he has tentatively dated to the second and third centuries A.D.[217] The same decoration also occurs on a number of African fine ware forms, some contemporary and some later, such as Hayes

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[217] Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), p. 201.

Form 87, of the middle and second half of the fifth century A.D.

On the San Giovanni site, the dates of the contexts in which the African Red Slip and coarse ware bowls are found suggest a date for them in the late fourth and early fifth centuries A.D. This bowl is of similar date.

*Context 5** /c. 375-c. 425 A.D./

1. P1410* rd 15.0 orange burnished red paint

Form 22: Bowl with Ridged Carinated Rim

Although essentially related to the form of the bowl with plain rim (SG Form 21), the bowl with ridged carinated rim first appears in later contexts. The earliest context in which this form appears is Upper Midden I (Context 6*). In general, ridges at the rim of any form appear as decoration around the middle of the fifth century A.D.

*Context 6** /c. 425-c. 460 A.D./

P1943* seems too large to be meant as an individual serving piece. It is fire-darkened.

1. P1943* rd 32.0 grey brown dark brown paint

Context 8 c. 460 A.D./

2. P3362* rd 16.0 orange red paint

Fine horizontal striations on lower wall.

*Context 12** /c. 460-c. 530 A.D./

The ridged carinated rim of P3220 is further decorated with vertical crosshatching.

3. P3220 rd 20.0 light orange red paint

*Context 13** /c. 530 A.D./

4. P3185* rd 22.0 orange red paint

Form 23: Small Bowl with Ridged Rim

This small bowl is closely related in form to the bowl with plain rim (SG Form 21), and is contemporary to the bowl with ridged carinated rim (SG Form 22). Ridged decoration at the exterior of the rim is generally dated to the mid-fifth century A.D. and later; the contexts in which this type is found confirm that it is of a similar date.

*Context 12** /c. 460-c. 530 A.D./

1. P3849* rd 17.0 orange red paint

Fine horizontal striations on lower exterior wall.

*Context 13** /c. 530 A.D./

Although these bowls are similar in size and decoration, they are not identical.

2. P1922 rd 15.0 light orange red paint

3. P3650 rd 15.0 light orange brown paint

Form 24: *Bowl with Lipped Carinated Rim, Base Ring*

Form 24 is a low bowl with a flared wall, a lipped carinated rim, and a low applied base ring. The form of this bowl clearly owes much to bowls in Phocaean Red Slip and African Red Slip in the middle and second half of the fifth century A.D., especially to carinated bowl forms Phocaean Red Slip Hayes Forms 3 C and 3 E. The diameter of SG Form 24 varies from 24.0 to 30.0 cms; a similar size bowl is common in approximately contemporary examples of bowls in Phocaean Red Slip. The base diameter varies from less than one half to about half the diameter of the rim in the complete examples. A smaller version (SG Form 24 Variant), is very similar in profile and size to African Red Slip Form 99, but has a simple pad base rather than an applied base ring.

The fabric of several examples of SG Form 24 is soft and evidently originally underfired. Plastic decoration of various types is common. Some rims show faint ridging. Lines of simple incised rouletting appear in the interior of several examples of this form and seem to be distinctive to it. Some bowls have fine horizontal striations on the exterior lower wall and base. This type of decoration can appear on other forms and has been discussed above.

There are five complete profiles of this form; *P1245** in Context 9 (the buildup for Period III in Zone 2); *P3156**, *P3169**, *P3287**, all in Midden IV (Context 12*); and *P3759*, in Context 13*.

A rim of a similar bowl (rim diameter 26.0 cms) was seen among the late Roman painted common ware from Calle di Tricarico. The fabric of the piece is dull orange, and the application of the red paint is clearly intended to imitate contemporary African Red Slip.

The fact that the form does not occur at San Giovanni earlier than the context of buildup for Period III remodelling in Zone 2 and is so common in Midden IV (occupation material of Period III) clearly dates its first appearance and dominance to the second half of the fifth century A.D.

Context 9 /c. 460 + A.D.

*P1245** is complete from rim to base. The carination is very slight, and the piece would be classed as a bowl with plain rim, were it not for its base ring. The form of *P1245** should therefore be seen as intermediate between SG Forms 21 and 24.

P1855 has a delicately stippled painted design in the interior of the bowl, giving the impression of impressed rouletting, which is a common decoration on the interior of examples of the bowl with carinated rim in Midden IV.

1. *P1245** rd 24.5 light orange orange brown paint
   bd 10.0
2. P1855 ws orange orange paint
   Painted decoration on interior floor resembles fine rouletting.
3. P1862 rd 30.0 brown dark brown paint
4. P3101 rim brown no paint
   Both surfaces of P3101 are shattered.

*Context 12** /c. 460-c. 530 A.D./

The bowl with lipped carinated rim and base ring is very common in Midden IV. Some pieces show a faint grooving on the lipped rim (P3156*, P3164, P3250, P3287*), indicating the mid-fifth century A.D. Several of the examples of the form bear simple vertical or oblique rouletting in neat rows in the interior of the bowl (*P3156**, P3752, P3848). P3345 bears three fingerprints in red paint on the exterior; as in the case of P3111* (SG Form 21), the size of the prints and the finger extension suggest a male artisan.

5. *P3156** rd 26.0 orange red orange paint
bd 12.5
Fine horizontal striations on exterior lower wall; rows of evenly spaced rouletting cover entire interior.

6. P3164 rd 26.0 light orange thin redbrown paint
Faint ridges above rim carination.

7. *P3169* rd 28.0 light brown pale redbrown paint
bd 14.0
Fine horizontal striations on exterior wall.

8. P3264* rd 25.0 orange redbrown paint
Fairly thin walls, carinated rim. Fine horizontal striations on exterior wall, groove below rim on interior wall.

9. *P3287** rd 27.0 light orange redbrown paint
bd 10.0
Ridged rim, fine horizontal striations on lower exterior wall, shallow ridges on exterior of rim.

10. P3345 bd 12.0 orange red paint
Fine horizontal striations on exterior wall.

11. P3752 rd 27.0 orange red paint

Rows of evenly spaced horizontal rouletting on interior.

12. P3848 rd 30.0 orange red paint

Rows of horizontal rouletting on interior and over rim.

*Context 13** /c. 530 A.D./

Both examples of the form in this context have carinated rims. P2043* is affected by fire darkening; Context 13* is material from the destruction of Period III.

13. P2043* rd 24.0 grey brown brown paint

14. *P3759* rd 26.0 brown redbrown paint
bd 13.0

Context 14 /c. 530 + A.D.

15. P3250 rd 26.0 light orange red paint

Slight grooves in lipped rim.

P3620* is somewhat similar to P1941* (SG Form 29), which imitates African Red Slip Form 61 B/87 A.

16. P3620* rd 26.0 light orange red paint

Groove on interior below rim.

Form 24 Variant: *Small Bowl with Lipped Rim*

This form is classed separately from the bowl with lipped or carinated rim (SG Form 24) because the form has a flat pad base in place of the base ring seen in the larger version. The smaller form is also clearly inspired by African Red Slip Hayes Form 99, and is very similar to it in size. The distribution of both SG Form 24 and its variant indicates that they belong to the second half of the fifth century A.D. and are essentially contemporary with Hayes Form 99.

*Context 12** /c. 460-c. 530 A.D./

Both examples were found in Midden IV. Although the two pieces classed here are practically identical, they do not belong to the same vessel.

1.	P3135	rd 15.0	light orange	red paint

Fine horizontal striations on exterior wall.

2.	*P3145**	rd 16.0 bd 7.0	light orange	red paint

Fine horizontal striations on exterior wall.

Form numbers 25 to 27 have been left open.

Bowls: Imitations of Imported Fine Wares

In contexts which date to the middle of the fifth century A.D. and later, bowls which are imitations of specific forms in imported fine wares appear. These imitations are fairly crude, but the intention is obvious both in the forms in the painted common ware and in the use of the paint to form a slip all across the interior of the bowls and just over the rim. No piece in the late painted common ware could be potentially confused with the exported African fabrics, however, since their clay is always orange or red.

SG Form 24 Variant, listed above, is clearly influenced by African Red Slip Form 99, and could as well be listed under this classification.

Form 28: Bowl with Horizontal Rim, Frilled Edge (ARS 73 A)

This form is an imitation of the African Red Slip Form 73 A, for which Hayes suggests a date in the first half of the fifth century A.D.

P1231* has a burnished finish on its interior, similar to but not as fine as that of P1410*, the variant of the bowl with plain rim (SG Form 21 Variant). This piece may be contemporary to P1410* or slightly later.

Context 6   /c. 425-c. 460 A.D./

1. P1231*   rd 16.0   buff   orange paint

Form 29: Low Bowl with Squared Lipped Rim (ARS 61 B/87)

The form of this bowl clearly imitates African Red Slip; the form is closest to Hayes Form 87 A, but is not very evolved away from the San Giovanni late examples of Form 61 B.[218] The most likely date for such an imitative form is the middle of the fifth century A.D.

A rim and base which most likely belong to one and the same bowl are classed here. The stamped rosette in base P1944* is similar in type, but not identical to Hayes' African Red Slip stamp motif 54 (o). Hayes originally dated the type to the mid-fifth century and later;[219] revisions to his system would now place it in the first quarter of the fifth century A.D. Hayes Form 87 would ordinarily bear stamps of the later type E.

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[218] Hayes has suggested the evolution of 87 from 61 B, cf. *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), p. 136.

[219] Cf. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), fig. 41 and p. 240. Hayes' example comes from a stamped rim of his Form 93; an earlier example appears on a Form 67 base.

Context 6* /c. 425-c. 460 A.D./

1.	P1941*	rd 29.0	orange	red paint
	P1944*	bd 15.0	light orange	red paint

Form 30: Bowl with Carinated Rim, Round Below Rim (PRS 3 C)

This bowl seems to be a primitive imitation of Phocaean Red Slip Hayes Form 3 C. Examples of the Phocaean Red Slip form appear twice in Context 9 with SG Form 30. The context is construction of Period III in Zone 2; other pottery material in the context suggests a date after the middle of the fifth century A.D.

Context 9 /c. 460 + A.D.

1.	P1854*	rd 17.0	buff	red paint

Form 31: Bowl with Horizontal Rim, Combed and Incised Decoration on Rim and Interior (ARS 96)

Form 31 is a fairly shallow bowl with a medium-wide horizontal rim, decorated on rim top and interior. This unique bowl seems to be influenced by African Red Slip Hayes Form 96, although its rim diameter is too large for the imitation to be exact in intent. It may also be affected by Hayes Form 93 or 94.

Hayes Form 96 is a fairly deep small bowl with a wide horizontal rim which may be covered with rouletting. It is one of a group of African Red Slip bowls made at Oudna in the second half of the fifth century A.D. The Oudna series of bowls are decorated with stamps on the interior of the base. The group includes Forms 97 and 99;[220] the presence of several examples of Form 99 is the best dating evidence for Midden IV.

The horizontal rim of P1656* is decorated with combing and cross-hatching to imitate rouletting. P1656* also bears a line of wavy combing on its interior wall. The confident manner in which the provincial decoration of wavy combing was applied by the potter suggests the degree of independence felt by the manufacturers of the painted common ware.[221]

The form appears in Midden IV and is therefore contemporary with Form 99 and the other bowls of the Oudna series; that is, it dates to the second half of the fifth century A.D. or possibly slightly later.

*Context 12** /c. 460-c. 530 A.D./

1. P1656* rd 22.0 orange red paint

Cross-hatched decoration on horizontal rim, line of wavy combing on lower interior wall.

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[220] The Oudna series is discussed by Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), p. 298 and passim.

[221] This type of decoration is certainly not common in African Red Slip, but does occur on the floor of large variants of Form 91 at Carthage, Hayes, "Pottery Report" (1976), Deposit VII.20, fig. 3, pp. 55-56.

Form 32: *Bowl with Wide Horizontal Scalloped Rim* (ARS 97)

This bowl imitates the form of African Red Slip Hayes Form 97. It has a slightly larger diameter and a shallower wall than the African original. The ware is soft and shattered and fire damaged. Because of the condition of the piece, the fabric cannot be certainly identified as the late Roman painted common ware.

A very shallow feather rouletting decorates the inner and outer walls of the bowl and also appears on the upper rim. This type of decoration is not at all comparable to the much coarser rouletting which appears on the interior walls of SG Form 24 in late Roman painted common ware. It is more like the rouletting which appears on the interior of African Red Slip bowl forms 53 B and 91, forms which have gone out of fashion by the end of the first quarter of the fifth century A.D.

This imitation of ARS Form 97 appears in Midden IV, which is dated to the second half of the fifth century A.D. by examples of ARS Form 99 B. ARS Forms 96 to 99 belong to a series that is practically or absolutely contemporaneous; and this fact indicates that, like the imitation of Form 96 (SG Form 31), SG Form 32 is contemporary to the form it imitates.

*Context 12** /c. 460-c. 530 A.D./

1.	*P3143**	rd 20.0 bd 12.0	pale brown	worn red paint

Form 33: Bowl with Wide Ridged Rim (PRS 8 or ARS 82/86)

This unique bowl is fairly shallow and is characterized by a wide slightly dropped rim which also projects slightly into the interior of the bowl. The upper rim bears three ridges. The form of the bowl seems to be influenced by Hayes Phocaean Red Slip Form 8, or, less likely, by the series of African Red Slip Hayes Forms 82 to 86.

P2049* does not show any trace of paint on its worn surface, but the ware is similar to other examples of painted common ware at San Giovanni. As the bowl appears in destruction material of Period III at San Giovanni, it may be dated as late as the early sixth century A.D.

*Context 13** /c. 530 A.D./

1. P2049* rd 18.0 light orange no paint

Form 34: Bowl with Lipped Triangular Rim (ARS 93/94)

It is not clear that this small deep bowl with a sharply triangular rim closely resembles a specific fine ware form but it may be influenced by African Red Slip Hayes Forms 93 and 94. It appears in destruction contexts of Period III and therefore may date to the end of the fifth or the early sixth century A.D.

*Context 13** /c. 530 A.D./

1. P1948* rd 18.0 buff no paint

   Interior surface shattered.

Form numbers 35 to 40 have been left open.

Service Pieces

After the small amphora (SG Form 1) of which there are forty-one catalogued examples, the wide-mouthed jar (SG Form 43) and the flanged spouted bowl (SG Form 42) are the most numerous forms in the late Roman painted common ware on the San Giovanni site, with thirty-seven and twenty-eight examples respectively. The flanged spouted bowl has a closely related variant form, of which there are seven examples.

A number of forms with pouring spouts of various types probably all served a function similar to that of the mortarium which was in common use in Roman cuisine from the second century B.C. This class includes the flanged spouted bowl (SG Form 42) and its variant; the mortarium (SG Form 44); the wide-mouthed spouted bowl with carinated wall (SG Form 45); and the pseudo-flanged spouted bowl (SG Form 46).

The service pieces are generally large and ungraceful to the eye. These large pieces may be characteristic of Roman taste at the end of the empire. While a liquid capacity cannot be accurately estimated for the very common flanged bowl, since no example is complete to the base, the most complete of the wide-mouthed jars (P0515*, from outside the stratigraphic analysis) could have held approximately 10 liters. The flanged and spouted forms were built on a similar scale. If they were meant for table service, as seems highly likely because of their decoration, each vessel would probably have served anywhere from ten to twenty or more people, depending on how central its contents were to the meal.

There are no examples of large service pieces with mends. The spouted pieces were of course meant to hold foods liquid enough to pour. The fact that the large wide-mouthed jars were also not mended may indicate that they also were intended to hold liquids; watered wine may have been a possibility.

Another group of forms are heavy globular pots with a variety of rim treatments, classed as SG Forms 41, 49, 51 and 51 Variant. As a class, these pots have globular bodies, a fairly wide very short neck, and flared rim. The wide-mouthed jar (SG Form 43) and the smaller version (SG Form 52) are also related to each other.

Somewhat anomalous among the service pieces because of the delicacy of their walls are the wide-mouthed pot with triangular rim (SG Form 47) and the wide-mouthed jar with triangular rim (SG Form 50). Two other forms classed here, the globular pot with flared squared rim (SG Form 48), which is an imitation of a common form in coarse ware, and the funnel (SG Form 53), are unique.

Except for the single example of SG Form 41, none of the service pieces appear in contexts earlier than Context 6* (Upper Midden I); that is, they date to the second quarter of the fifth century A.D. and later.

Form 41: Heavy Globular Pot with Horizontal Rim

This form is related to the heavy globular pots in later contexts (SG Forms 49 and 51), which differ mainly in the treatment of the rim. The appearance of Form 41 in Lower Midden I suggests that the heavy globular pot may appear by the end of the fourth century A.D.

*Context 5**				/c. 375-c. 425 A.D./
1.	P1633*	rd 18.0	light orange	red paint

Form 42: Flanged Spouted Bowl

The flanged spouted bowl is one of the most numerous and distinctive forms in the ware. It is a large and ungainly open service piece, with a fairly wide flange just below a squared rim. In the majority of catalogued examples, the rim diameter falls between thirty and forty centimeters. As no complete profile exists, the characteristics of the lower wall and base are uncertain. Evidently the wall is steep but not particularly deep, and the base wide and almost completely flat; since a number of such bases, from an open form, judging by splashes of paint on the interior, were found in the same contexts as the flanged spouted bowl.

There is no indication on any of the examples from San Giovanni of how rim, flange and wall were formed into a unit by the potter. A large awkward spout built on to the flange and wall below the rim occurs on five examples. A hole was cut in the wall at the desired level and the spout was then formed by hand on the exterior wall. This type of spout is evidently characteristic of the form.

The flange always carries some decoration. Rarely are the patterns on any two pieces similar, a fact which suggests that variety was prized. Ridges, wavy combing and applied buttons are most popular; but impressed decoration also occurs. Buttons are almost exclusively associated with this form. Twelve of twenty-eight examples have at least one surviving button on the flange. Applied buttons also appear on the examples of the mortarium (SG Form 44) and the pseudo-flanged spouted bowl (SG Form 46); both forms are related to SG Form 42. The attention given to the decoration of the flange implies that the form was intended for table service.

This form could never have been simple or efficient to produce, as every piece requires individual attention at several points in the manufacturing process. Evidently, however, it fulfilled a basic culinary demand, since it was manufactured in some quantity with little basic change over more than half a century. As I noted above, the flanged spouted bowl no doubt derives from the classic mortarium in both form and purpose, and indicates the continuing importance of a traditionally Roman cuisine.

The flanged spouted bowl in late painted common ware is a distinctive form, easily recognizable as long as rim and flange are intact. Two examples were noted among the late Roman painted common ware from Calle di Tricarico. One, with no evidence of a spout, has a rounded defined rim (rim diameter 38 cms), with ridges and an applied button on its flange. Another sherd is an awkward hand-formed spout of the type which typically appears on flanged spouted bowls from San Giovanni.

Two examples were also noted at Grumento. One has a spout and ridged flange (inv. no. 52638); another has a flange decorated by wavy combing above a line of combing crossed by vertical bump marks (52339). An example from Sibari has been published.[222]

Two rims were exhibited in a display at the Museo di Metaponto of pottery from the excavation of the 'Castrum' site in ancient Metapontum. One of these is comparatively well-made and almost identical to typical examples of SG Form 42. It has a line of wavy combing on the rim and on the flange, an applied spout, and two buttons spaced on the flange, one placed directly above the spout. A second rim is very poorly made. As the rim is not defined, the profile of this vessel is somewhat similar to that of the pseudo-flanged bowl (SG Form 46). The 'flange' or carinated rim is decorated by grooves with oblique dents above and below a line of wavy combing. In addition, the rim bears two buttons applied one above the other. These pieces seem to be directly related to the flanged spouted bowls at San Giovanni in fabric as well as in form.

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[222] See note 150, above.

Vessels in common ware which are related in form also appear in surface layers of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. at Albintimiliium.[223] The form does not appear at San Giovanni in a context earlier than Upper Midden I, which is dated to the second quarter of the fifth century A.D. It continues with little change to the end of the site.

*Context 6** /c. 425-c. 460 A.D./

P1438* is particularly carefully made. Nearly the whole diameter of the flange was recovered. Four flat buttons are spaced around the flange, one directly over the large hand-formed spout; and the flange is decorated with wavy combing and grooves. P1438* is the only example in this context complete with spout.

P1130 is difficult to distinguish from the wide-mouthed jar because the rim is not clearly differentiated from the flange.

1. P1093 rd 40.0 orange orange paint
   Line of wavy combing on rim and on flange.
2. P1106 rd 34.0 light brown dark brown paint
   Button on flange.
3. P1129 rd 31.0 buff orange paint
   Line of wavy combing on flange, button on flange, dents on rim.
4. P1130 rd 37.0 orange orange paint
   Ridges on undifferentiated rim and flange.
5. P1132 rd 35.0 dull brown dark brown paint

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[223] See note 170, above.

Wavy combing and button on flange.

6. P1438* rd 29.0 brown brown black paint

   Line of wavy combing above grooves on flange, four buttons on flange, one above spout; upper wall of spout broken away.

7. P1952 rd 27.0 pale buff to dull brown red to black paint

   Ridges on flange.

Context 9 /c. 460 A.D.

P3001* has a hand-formed spout. It is an unusually complete and comparatively elegant example of the form. P1886 is not large enough to get an accurate rim diameter; however, it seems to be a miniature.

8. P1483 rd 33.0 dull brown dark redbrown paint

   Ridges on flange, vertical slashes every 1-1.5 cms.

9. P1878 rd 34.0 orange dark red paint

   Line of wavy combing on rim and on flange.

10. P1886 rim orange redbrown paint

    Ridges on flange.

11. P3001* rd 41.0 light orange redbrown paint

    Groove on rim with oblique dents, ridges above line of wavy combing above ridges on flange, two buttons above mouth of hand-formed spout.

12. P3068 rd 36.0 light orange orange paint

    Two heavily incised lines of wavy combing on flange, two buttons on preserved width of flange, oblique dents along rim top.

13. P3310 rd 35.5 dull brown dark brown paint
Line of wavy combing on flange.

Context 12* /c. 460-c. 530 A.D./

While the examples of SG Form 42 in Midden IV may be slightly less elegant than the average in Upper Midden I, there is in fact very little difference between the appearance of the form in the two contexts. P3121 is the only example of the complete applied spout.

14. P1992 rd 31.0 light orange redbrown paint
Line of wavy combing on rim and on flange.

15. P3121* rd 23.0 buff dark red paint
Sloppy line of wavy combing on flange above two grooves, large ugly hand-formed spout.

16. P3123* rd 38.5 orange redbrown paint
Rim not clearly defined; ridged and cross-hatched decoration on flange.

17. P3205 rd 40.0 light orange redbrown paint
Ridge on lower edge of flange, button on flange.

18. P3231 rd 25.0 dull brown brown paint
Line of wavy combing on rim and on flange.

19. P3265* rd 32.0 light orange orange brown paint
Ridges on rim and flange.

20. P3475* rd 31.0 orange redbrown paint
Rim not clearly defined; two lines of wavy combing, separated by groove, on flange.

*Context 13** /c. 530 A.D./

The presence of six examples of the form in the destruction material of Period III shows that the form remained basic in the painted common ware to the end of the occupation of the San Giovanni site. Two vessels in this context are complete to the hand-formed spout. P0073* is unusually small. P2038* and P2042 do not join, but possibly belong to the same vessel.

21. P0073* rd 20.0 dull orange redbrown paint
Sharply defined ridges on flange.

22. P1802 rd 35.0 light orange redbrown paint
Line of wavy combing on rim and on flange, applied spout, button above spout.

23. P1990* rd 37.0 brown brown paint
Rim not clearly differentiated from flange; stick-drawn wavy line on flange.

24. P2038* rd 33.0 yellow orange pinkish paint
Grooves on rim, line of wavy combing on flange, hand-formed spout.

25. P2042 rd 34.0 dull orange pinkish paint
Grooves on rim, wavy combing on flange.

26. P3758* rd 25.5 buff brown black paint
Line of loose wavy combing on rim and on flange.

Context 14 /c. 530 + A.D.

27. P0471 rd 30.0 light orange red paint
Four rounded ridges on flange.

28. P1076 rd 33.0 orange orange brown paint

Line of wavy combing above ridges on flange, button.

Form 42 Variant: Flanged Spouted Bowl with Sharply Curved Wall

A smaller variant of the flanged spouted bowl can be distinguished. The rim diameter of the variant form is approximately twenty centimeters. The smaller variant has the identical treatment of rim and flange, but the sharp angle of the wall predicts a relatively smaller base.

Examples of the variant form with an applied spout have been found only in topsoil. The spout is not the awkward hand-formed spout seen on the ordinary examples of the flanged spouted bowl, but is a tubelike wheel-made spout applied at the level of the carination of the wall; a similar spout appears on the bowl with carinated wall (SG Form 45) and the pseudo-flanged spouted bowl (SG Form 46).

The smaller variant could be earlier than the flanged spouted bowl form itself, since material from the destruction of Period I, in which it first appears, includes earlier material. It seems likely, however, that it is contemporary with the flanged spouted bowl, which does not appear before the second quarter of the fifth century A.D.

*Context 6** /c. 425-c. 460 A.D./

The example found in this context is fire-darkened.

1. P1441 rd 21.0 grey brown dark red to brown paint

Ridges on flange.

Context 7 c. 340-c. 460 A.D.

2. P3144* rd 18.5 buff red paint

Rim not clearly differentiated from flange; groove on rim, line of wavy combing above groove on flange.

*Context 12** /c. 460-c. 530 A.D./

3. P1391 rd 18.5 orange redbrown paint

Ridged decoration on rim and flange.

4. P3137 rd 20.0 light orange redbrown paint

Ridged rim, line of wavy combing above groove on flange.

*Context 13** /c. 530 A.D./

5. P3756 rd 21.0 buff brown black paint

Ridges on flange.

Context 14 /c. 530 + A.D.

While identifiable examples of this form have occured in earlier contexts, complete spouts appear only in topsoil. P3738 has an unusually large rim diameter for the variant with sharply curved wall.

6. P3606 rd 19.5 light orange redbrown paint

Ridges on flange, spout.

7. P3738 rd 28.0 light orange no paint

Shallow ridges on flange, spout.

Form 43: *Wide-Mouthed Jar*

The form is a fairly deep jar with a relatively small flat base; a heavy rolled horizontal rim projects slightly into the interior of the pot. A break across the rim of P3146 shows how the clay was folded when the rim was formed.

A number of examples indicate that two horizontal strap handles were attached high on opposite sides of the wall under the rim. Some examples of the horizontal strap handle have two or three thumb indentations as decoration at either end where they are attached to the wall of the pot. Grooves or combed decoration are common on the wall at the same level as the handles, and may also appear on the rim.

There is a certain amount of variation in the treatment of the rim. The wall can be almost vertical or slightly bowed. The size of the form varies a good deal. Rims from San Giovanni vary from 22.0 to 44.0 cms in diameter.

A complete profile of the wide-mouthed jar exists in an unstratified context (*P0515*). *P0515* has a rim diameter of 35.0 cms, a base diameter of 11.5 cms, and a complete height of 27.5 cms.

Three examples were noted among material from Calle di Tricarico. These three vary in size and decoration. The largest, with a rim diameter of 40.0 cms, is decorated with a line of wavy combing on its upper wall. A second piece (rim diameter 32.0 cms) has a rim decorated with ridging, diagonal cross-hatching, and thumb indentations on the outer edge. The third piece is very small, with a diameter of only 21.0 cms. The rim is ridged. All three have slightly thinner walls than ordinary examples from San Giovanni.

A pot with a similar rim but a more globular body was noted in the Castrum excavation exhibit at the Museo di Metaponto; while the excavation at Atella produced a pot with a similar profile, but, rather surprisingly since all handles on this form at San Giovanni are attached horizontally, a vertical strap handle.

A form strikingly similar to the wide-mouthed jar (SG Form 43) has been excavated at Pamplona in Spain; it is relatively deeper than the San Giovanni examples. Other material in the context suggests a date in the late second or early third century A.D.[224]

With thirty-seven examples, Form 43 is the most common form in the ware at San Giovanni after the small amphora (SG Form 1), despite the fact that it does not appear before Upper Midden I, in the mid-fifth century A.D. It is equally common in both Midden IV and destruction contexts of Period III, a distribution which indicates that it continued as a form of major importance to the end of the San Giovanni site.

*Context 6** /c. 425-c. 460 A.D./

There is only one certain example of the form in Upper Midden I, the earliest context in which it appears.

1. P1446 rd 42.5 orange red paint

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[224] Cf. Mezquiriz de Catalan, *Pompaelo* (1958), fig. 57, pp. 135-136. The rim diameter of the piece is 29.2 cms; the height 40.0 cms. There is no evidence of lateral handles.

Context 8 c. 460 A.D./

Three examples of this form in buildup for Period III construction in Zone 3 confirm that the form was already being accepted by the mid-fifth century A.D.

2. P1918* rd 38.0 light orange redbrown paint
   Grooves on upper wall.
3. P3579 rd 22.0 pale buff brown paint
4. P3605* rd 30.5 pale buff dark brown paint

Context 9 /c. 460 A.D.

There are a number of indications that the material used in the later remodelling of the Period II rooms in Zone 2 dates after the beginning of Period III. The concentration of five examples of the wide-mouthed jar is one, since the fact that there is only one example of the form in Context 6* (Upper Midden I), indicates that the form had only just been introduced by the mid-fifth century A.D.

5. P1470* rd 32.0 dull brown purple brown paint
   Ridged rim.
6. P1477 rd 32.0 orange red paint
   Line of wavy combing on wall below rim.
7. P1480 rd 28.0 dull brown purple brown paint
   Two grooves on outer edge of rim.
8. P1872* rd 30.0 light orange orange paint
   Unusual rim angle; ridges on wall below rim.
9. P3002* rd 42.0 buff dark brown paint
   Line of wavy combing above ridges on wall.

Context 10 c. 460 + A.D.

10. P1688 rd 32.5 orange redbrown paint

Faint ridges on rim.

*Context 12** /c. 460-c. 530 A.D./

Although there is no complete example of the wide-mouthed jar in the Midden IV context, ten rims of this form were found. There is a wide variety of decoration on examples of the form in this context.

11. P1776 rd 41.5 brown red paint

Grooves on wall.

12. P3119* rd 30.5 buff to light orange redbrown to dark brown paint

Squared rim, line of very relaxed wavy combing and ridges on upper wall, horizontal handle, additional wall sherds indicate fine horizontal striations on lower wall.

13. P3122 rd 31.0 light orange dark red paint

14. P3146 rd 26.0 light orange orange paint

Rim clay shows folding stress.

15. P3165 rd 32.0 light orange redbrown paint

Two grooves on upper wall.

16. P3184* rd 38.0 light orange orange paint

Loose line of wavy combing on rim and on upper wall.

17. P3289 rd 30.0 light orange brown paint

Two grooves at outer edge of rim, grooves on upper wall.

18. P3292 rd 22.0 light orange orange paint

Swelling indicates attachment point for horizontal handle.

19. P3342 rd 27.0 light orange redbrown paint

Loose line of wavy combing on rim.

20. P3660 ws buff redbrown paint

Wavy combing on wall, horizontal handle with three thumb impressions at attachment.

21. P3750* rd 31.5 orange rose red paint

Squared rim, trace of handle attachment, two lines of relaxed wavy combing on upper wall.

22. P3761 rd 44.0 dull brown dark brown paint

Two stick-drawn wavy lines on upper wall.

*Context 13** /c. 530 A.D./

Eight examples of the form in destruction material of Period III show that it continues to the end of the occupation of the site. Wall sherd P1803 has the horizontal handle which is typical of this form. The handle is incomplete, but bears two of an original three decorative fingerprint impressions at the point where it is attached to the wall. The interior of the wall of P2044 is fire-darkened.

23. P1101 rd 44.0 buff redbrown paint

Line of wavy combing on rim.

24. P1803 ws brown orange paint

Handle with fingerprint impressions.

25. P1694 rd 42.0 orange red orange paint

Three lines of wavy combing below rim.

26. P2036* rd 42.0 pale buff light brown paint

Rim squared at outer edge.

27. P2044* rd 31.0 dull orange light brown paint

Two grooves in outer edge of rim, fine wide-spaced ridges on upper wall, fine horizontal striations on lower exterior wall.

28. P3815 rd 43.0 dull brown dark brown paint

Two lines of wavy combing separated by double groove.

29. P3757 rd 34.0 light orange redbrown paint

Two ridges on outer edge of rim, grooves on upper wall, horizontal handle.

30. P3817 rd 38.0 buff brown paint

Heavy internal rim round; two slight grooves on outer edge of rim.

Context 14 /c. 530 + A.D.

A number of examples of the form appear in topsoil. P3539* is unusually nicely made.

31. P1061 rd 39.0 buff redbrown paint

32. P1325* rd 32.0 dull orange no paint

Wall is slightly convex.

33. P1859 rim dull brown purple brown paint

Five grooves on wall below rim.

34. P3016 rd 30.0 brown no paint

Trace of attachment of horizontal handle.

35. P3539* rd 33.0 brown dark brown paint

Line of relaxed wavy combing above two grooves on upper wall, grooves on outer edge of rim, fine horizontal striations on lower wall.

36. P3653 rd 26.0 brown brown paint

Trace of attachment of horizontal handle.

37. P3795 rd 42.0 brown dark brown paint

Two ridges on outer edge of rim.

Form 44: Mortarium

The typical classical mortarium with pouring spout and rounded roughened interior floor does not occur on the San Giovanni site. The form noted here is very much like the mortarium, in that a spout is defined over the wide rim by a clay ridge which runs along the interior wall for most of the diameter and then turns outward to reach the outer edge of the rim, forming a shallow pouring spout. There is no preserved evidence of the typical mortarium floor; instead the form has fairly steep straight walls. A much smaller bowl with a similar profile in an apparently similar fabric and style of paint was excavated from a cistern context of the early sixth century A.D. at the Heraion at Samos.[225]

The two pieces listed below may possibly belong to the same vessel; however, the drawings show some differences.

*Context 6** /c. 425-c. 460 A.D./

1. P1330* rd 40.5 rose to grey brown red paint

Two applied buttons on flattened rim.

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[225] H. P. Isler, "Zisterne" (1969), pl. 92, fig. 5 (K3836).

*Context 13** /c. 530 A.D./

2. P1295* rd 41.0 rose to grey brown no paint

Form 45: Wide-Mouthed Spouted Bowl with Carinated Wall

This relatively shallow carinated form is distinguished by an upturned tubular spout under the rim and sharply curved vertical strap handle, attached just under the rim and just at the carination, probably opposite the spout. No piece on the San Giovanni site has been preserved with both spout and handle, but a complete profile of a similar form exists in coarse ware (*P2047*). The dimensions of *P2047* are: rim diameter 16.5 cms, base diameter 11.0 cms, height 10.8 cms. The plain, fairly wide, flat base of *P2047* suggests the possibility of a similar base for the form in late Roman painted common ware.

The form had a bead, triangular, or slightly flared rim. Ridges or some other decoration are always present on the wall above the carination, indicating that the form was intended for table service. Pieces classed as examples of this form range in size from very small to quite large.

A rim perhaps of this form was noted among pieces excavated at Calle di Tricarico. The piece has a bead rim (rim diameter 17.5 cms) and grooves on the shoulder. The form is also related to the 'vaso a becuccio', in a possibly local common ware at Albintimilium.[226]

The earliest appearance of the form at San Giovanni is in Upper Midden I. It seems to belong mainly to the second half of the fifth century A.D.

*Context 6** /c. 425-c. 460 A.D./

One of the examples listed here (P1960*) has a sharply curved handle, a feature which indicates that the lower attachment of the handle was just below the wall carination.

1. P1113 rd 25.0 light orange brown paint
   Bead rim, ridges above line of wavy combing on upper wall.
2. P1177 rd 16.0 orange no paint
   Bead rim, line of incised dents along top edge of rim, outer edge of rim indented.
3. P1960* rd 25.0 light orange redbrown paint
   Ridge under bead rim, line of wavy combing on upper wall, strap handle.

Context 8 c. 460 A.D./

This piece is a miniature version of the familiar form, almost small enough to suggest a child's toy.

4. P0473* rd 9.0 light orange red paint
   Grooves on upper wall, upturned spout.

*Context 12** /c. 460-c. 530 A.D./

5. P3113* rd 22.0 light orange red paint
   Tight double stick-drawn wavy line above carination.

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[226] See note 170, above.

6. P3167* rd 22.0 light orange orange to redbrown paint

Ridges on rim, line of tight sloppy wavy combing above ridges above carination on upper wall, upcurved complete spout.

7. P3229* rd 12.0 orange redbrown paint

Ridges on wall above carination; rather long spout, angled up, with mouth broken away.

*Context 13** /c. 530 A.D./

Although P1799* has no evidence of a spout or handle, the wide mouth and carinated wall of the vessel identify the piece as an example of SG Form 45.

8. P1799* rd 18.0 brown redbrown paint

Triangular rim; two flat ridges on upper wall above carination, which is marked by a similar flat ridge; two slight ridges below carination.

Context 14 /c. 530 + A.D.

P3796* is most likely a very large version of the familiar bowl with carinated wall; the present example does not, however, preserve any trace of spout or handle.

9. P3796* rd 32.0 orange redbrown paint

Ridges above a line of wavy combing on wall above carination, shallow ridges on flat top of triangular rim.

Form 46: Pseudo-Flanged Spouted Bowl

This unique vessel is clearly related to the flanged spouted bowl (SG Form 42). It is not actually flanged, but a sharply carinated upper wall produces a similar effect. A thickened ridged lip takes the place of the defined rim of the flanged spouted bowl.

The walls are thinner than those of typical examples of the flanged spouted bowl and the piece is carefully made. The spout of the form is also not the clumsy hand-formed spout seen on the flanged spouted bowl but is a wheel-made tube with comparatively thin walls. A similar spout occurs on the flanged spouted bowl with sharply curved wall (SG Form 42 Variant) and the wide-mouthed spouted bowl with carinated wall (SG Form 45).

As the form appears in the Period III construction context in Zone 2, it evidently appears after the middle of the fifth century A.D. A second piece of this vessel (P3551*) appeared in Context 13*.

Context 9 /c. 460 A.D.

1. P1193* rd 32.0 buff brown black paint
   Ridges on rim and flange, applied spout, button on flange.

Form 47: Wide-Mouthed Pot with Triangular Rim

The form is a wide-mouthed globular pot with a triangular rim. Since only rims have been preserved, there is no evidence to indicate or rule out a carinated wall. This form could therefore be confused with the wide-mouthed spouted bowl with carinated wall, except for the fact that it has minimal or no decoration on its upper wall. It is more delicate than many of the other service pieces, with noticeably thinner walls. The preserved examples are all of a fairly uniform medium size, with a rim diameter averaging about 18 centimeters. One piece, P3823*, has a thickening wall under the rim, indicating a possible handle attachment.

An example of this form noted among the material from Calle has a diameter of 16 cms.

The form first appears at San Giovanni in the buildup for the Period III renovation in Zone 2. It is also related to Form 50, which appears only in Context 12* (Midden IV).

Context 9 /c. 460 A.D.

1. P1848* rd 21.0 orange brown paint

   Fine grooves at inner side of rim interior, wide shallow groove on shoulder.

*Context 12** /c. 460-c. 530 A.D./

There is a variety of very limited decoration on the form in this context.

2. P1783 rd 19.0 orange redbrown paint

   Slight groove on outer edge of rim, ridges below rim.

3. P3488 rd 18.0 orange redbrown paint

   Faint ridging on outer edge of rim and upper wall.

4. P3779* rd 17.0 light orange orange paint

   Ridges in top of rim.

5. P3823* rd 16.0 orange red paint

Outer edge of rim slightly squared.

*Context 13** /c. 530 A.D./

The color of P3055* indicates fire-darkening.

6. P3055* rd 17.0 grey brown dark brown paint

7. P3332 rd 18.0 orange redbrown paint

Form 48: Globular Pot with Flared Squared Ridged Rim

This unique and almost elegant pot imitates the form of the most common coarse ware cooking pot in San Giovanni contexts of the second half of the fifth century A.D.

Context 9 /c. 460 A.D.

1. P1468* rd 13.0 dull brown redbrown paint

Ridges with vertical slashes in outer edge of rim, line of wavy combing above ridges on shoulder.

Form 49: Heavy Globular Pot with Flared Ridged Rim

A few heavy pot forms appear in the late Roman painted common ware. The rims vary, and the forms have therefore been listed individually, but SG Forms 41, 49 and 51 are certainly related. One example of SG Form 49 appears in material from buildup for the construction of Period III in Zone 3, therefore in the middle of the fifth century A.D.; the other in Midden IV.

Context 8 c. 460 A.D./

1. P2069* rd 18.0 light orange orange paint

*Context 12** /c. 460-c. 530 A.D./

2. P3415 rd 13.0 light orange red paint
   Two grooves in flat rim top.

Form 50: Wide-Mouthed Jar with Triangular Rim

The rim profile of this form and its comparative delicacy are comparable to SG Form 47; Form 50 is distinguished from Form 47 by its vertical wall and larger rim diameter. Decoration on the three examples of this form is quite varied, and unusual in its concentration on the rim.

All three examples are in Midden IV, suggesting a date for the form in the second half of the fifth century A.D. It is probably essentially contemporary with SG Form 47.

*Context 12** /c. 460-c. 530 A.D./

1. P3767* rd 27.0 light orange redbrown paint
   Shallow ridges in rim top crossed by oblique dents.
2. P3846 rd 24.0 orange orange paint
   Two lines of oblique incisions on outer edges of triangular rim, grooves on outer side of rim.
3. P3847 rd 31.0 orange red paint
   Grooves in rim top, wavy combed decoration on upper wall.

Form 51: Heavy Globular Pot with Triangular Rim and Double Handles

The double strap handles of this heavy pot are attached immediately to its triangular rim. The flat base of P3736* (Form 51 Variant) suggests a similar base for Form 51.

A large heavy pot with a triangular rim, somewhat similar to SG Form 49, but with no evidence of double handles, occurs in a late context at Conimbriga, where the late fine wares are almost identical to the range at San Giovanni.[227]

The form first appears in Midden IV at San Giovanni; that is, not before the second half of the fifth century A.D.

*Context 12** /c. 460-c. 530 A.D./

Both examples of the form in this context bear a line of wavy combing on the outer angle of the triangular rim.

1. P3222* rd 13.0 orange orange paint
   Two lines of wavy combing and a line of horizontal combing on shoulder.
2. P3266* rd 15.0 light orange red paint
   Line of relaxed wavy combing on outer angle of triangular rim.

*Context 13** /c. 530 A.D./

Only a bit of rim with one handle appears in this context.

3. P3546 rd 14.5 brown no paint

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[227] Alarcão, *Conimbriga V* (1975), pl. XVIII, no. 357.

Grooves on outer edge of rim.

Context 14 /c. 530 + A.D.

Not enough of this piece is preserved to identify the form with absolute certainty, but it seems to be the same double-handled pot with triangular rim which first appears in Midden IV.

4. P3797 rd 15.5 dull brown brown black paint

Two heavy grooves in upper rim.

Form 51 Variant: Heavy Globular Pot with Triangular Rim, Applied Thumb Frill Below Rim

The form of this pot is exactly similar to the pot with triangular rim which first appeared in Midden IV; the variant with applied frill under the rim appears only in topsoil. Thumb frilled decoration is unusual on painted common ware at San Giovanni, appearing only on SG Forms 51 Variant and 67. The decoration is very common on large basins in common ware of the fifth century A.D. at Conimbriga.[224] P3736* has a wide flat base.

Context 14 /c. 530 + A.D.

1. P3736* rd 14.0 light orange light orange paint
   bd 15.0

Thumb frill applied under rim, stick-drawn wavy line on shoulder.

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[224] *Conimbriga V* (1975), nos. 739-767, pls. XXXVII-XXXIX; cf. p. 150.

Form 52: Jar with Vertical Wall, Narrow Horizontal Rim

This form seems to be related to SG Form 43, the wide-mouthed jar. There are two examples of Form 52 in destruction contexts of Period III. Both pieces have a shattered and powdery surface, which is unusual for the painted common ware. The feature suggests that the pieces were not hard-fired, or possibly they have suffered fire damage in the destruction of the buildings. Sherds from the lower wall of P3296 suggest that the wall curves in and the vessel is fairly deep. An unstratified version, P0708*, is probably related. The form evidently dates to the late fifth and early sixth centuries A.D.

*Context 13** /c. 530 A.D./

1. P3296 rd 14.0 pale buff no paint
   Exterior surface shattered.
2. P3649 rd 14.0 buff redbrown paint
   Interior surface shattered.

Context 14 /c. 530 + A.D.

3. P3333 rd 19.0 orange redbrown paint
   Line of wavy combing on rim.

Form 53: *Funnel with Ridged Carinated Rim*

Form 53 is a fairly large funnel with a carinated rim rather similar to the rim of the bowl with ridged carinated rim (SG Form 22) or the pseudo-flanged bowl (SG Form 46). Faint ridges appear at the level of the carination.

Versions of the funnel appear among late context common and coarse wares at Albintimilium[229] and Tarragona,[230] but *P3383** is the only certain example of the form found among the late pottery from San Giovanni. *P3383** was reconstructed from sherds scattered in destruction contexts of the *praetorium* of Period III. While the original surface was certainly orange, several of the sherds which belong to the vessel have been fire-darkened to a pale grey color.

Material in the context was deposited in the early sixth century A.D.

*Context 13** /c. 530 A.D./

1.	*P3383**	rd 23.0 bd 5.0	orange to pale grey	orange paint

Form numbers 54 to 60 have been left open.

Miscellaneous Forms

Form 61: *Small Globular Pot with Vertical Rim*

This small form has a round body, vertical rim, and a flat base which is not sharply defined. It may have one or two slightly rounded strap handles, attached to the rim and upper wall. The examples excavated on the site are practically uniform in size. A complete profile exists for this form (*P3607**).

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[229] See note 173, above.

[230] Cf. C. B. Rüger, "Römische Keramik aus dem Kreuzgang der Kathedrale von Tarragona", *Madrider Mitteilungen* 9 (1968), fig. 15, 1 and p. 257.

An identical vessel was seen among the forms from Calle di Tricarico. The example there has no sign of incised decoration.

The form has a long life on the late San Giovanni site. It appears in the earliest contexts for the ware, and examples in these contexts have the early incised line decoration. The fact that the form also appears in Midden IV and destruction contexts of Period III, without the early decoration, implies that the form continues to be produced in the second half of the fifth century A.D.

Context 3* c. 375 A.D./

The single example in destruction material of Period I is treated with incised through slip decoration.

1. P3612 rd 8.0 light orange redbrown paint
   Incised zigzag line on upper wall.

Context 5* /c. 375-c. 425 A.D./

Lower Midden I has one example of this form, again with incised decoration. P1404 has two small vertical strap handles attached at opposite sides of the pot.

2. P1404* rd 8.0 buff redbrown paint
   Incised zigzag line between straight lines, possible spirals depend from lower line.

Context 6* /c. 425-c. 460 A.D./

A third example of the form, in Upper Midden I, is also decorated with the type of incised decoration described above.

3. P1451* rd 9.0 orange red paint

Two very lightly incised zigzag lines.

The two examples of this form in later contexts have no trace of any plastic decoration. P3392 is very similar in form to *P3607**.

*Context 12** /c. 460-c. 530 A.D./

4. P3392 rd 6.5 buff dark red paint

*Context 13** /c. 530 A.D./

5. *P3607** rd 6.5 buff to dull brown brown paint

Form 62: Lid with Squared Rim

A lid form appears in a ware essentially identical to the painted common ware, but unpainted. Uncatalogued examples are recorded from the exposed destruction material of Period I in the near vicinity of Midden I and from Upper Midden I. A good example of the form also appeared at Atella, where the latest dated material is no later than the first quarter of the fifth century A.D.[231] This distribution suggests that the form belongs to the late fourth and early fifth centuries A.D.

*Context 3** c. 375 A.D./

1. P1833* rd 23.0 light brown no paint

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[231] See note 152, above.

Form 63: Small Wide-Mouthed Pot with Slightly Flared Rim

A number of varying pieces seem to make up a class and are therefore assigned a form number. The tentatively defined form is a small wide-mouthed pot with a rounded lower wall and very slightly flared rim. There are no complete examples. This form evidently appears only in late fourth and early fifth century contexts.

Context 3* c. 375 A.D./

The best example of the form (P3039*) appears in this context. P3446 has a very narrow horizontal rim.

1. P3039* rd 10.0 brown redbrown paint
2. P3446 rd 9.0 buff red paint

Context 5* /c. 375-c. 425 A.D./

The form is only tentatively attested in this context, judging by the curvature and size of the wall sherd. The sherd was catalogued because of its unusual decoration: while most painted decoration on the painted common ware is brushed on completely at random, here the paint is applied in a comparatively neat pattern of wide diagonal and diagonal zigzag lines.

3. P1632 ws light brown dark brown paint

Context 6* /c. 425-c. 460 A.D./

The fabric of this piece in Upper Midden I is burnt grey; it is similar to the effect of P1151* (SG Form 3, a pitcher with flared trefoil rim), from the same context, and to P1554* (SG Form 64) from Lower Midden I.

4. P1297* rd 10.0 grey grey black paint

P1297* is anomalous because it has no neck.

Context 7 c. 340-c. 460 A.D.

5. P1296* rd 12.0 light orange no paint

This piece may actually be the rim of a new jug form.

Form 64: Wide-Mouthed Jar or Bowl with Slightly Flared Rim

A number of comparatively soft sherds, often burnt grey and with no trace of paint, appear in Lower and Upper Midden I. These pieces seem to be fire-damaged examples of painted common ware. Several are decorated with stabbed combing.

One such piece in a stratified late context is a bowl or possibly a delicate wide-mouthed jar with a slightly flared rim. The inner edge of the rim is decorated with stabbed combing. A very similar rim of the same form (P1989*) was found in topsoil in Zone 1.

*Context 5** /c. 375-c. 425 A.D./

1. P1554* rd 19.0 dull grey brown no paint

Vertical stabbed combing spaced on interior of rim.

Form 65: Small Cup with Ridged Rim

A number of rims which may belong to a small cup with a vertical wall and ridged rim, or to a jug form similar to the jug with a vertical neck and plain rim which occurs at

Atella, are tentatively classed together here as a form.[232] The date of the form may be the mid-fifth century A.D., since two of three examples appear in buildup for Period III in Zone 3.

Context 8				c. 460 A.D./

The rim of P2067* has only a single groove below the outer edge of the rim.

1.	P1912*	rd 9.0	light orange	brown paint
2.	P2067*	rd 9.0	dull brown	black paint
*Context 13**				/c. 530 A.D./
3.	P3578	rd 9.0	orange	redbrown paint

Form 66: Heavy Lid with Round under Rim

This lid form is unique and unusually heavy. It occurs in Midden IV, where lids with a heavy round under the rim are common in coarse ware.

*Context 12**				/c. 460-c. 530 A.D./
1.	P3237*	rd 14.0	buff	no paint

Form 67: Lid or Bowl with Frilled Rim

P1197* is not complete enough to define its form convincingly. It is of some interest because of the use of thumb frilling as decoration, as Form 51 Variant.

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[232] The jug at Atella (from layer AT80.I.3) had incised decoration on its shoulder; see note 152 above.

*Context 6** /c. 425-c. 460 A.D./

1. P1197* rd 23.0 light orange no paint

Form numbers 68 and following have been left open.

K. Conclusions on Typology and Chronology

Late Roman painted common ware first appears on the San Giovanni site in contexts which predate the construction of Period II; that is, the ware appears at some time in the third quarter of the fourth century A.D. New forms were introduced regularly from the first appearance of the ware up to the end of the life of the site. The introduction of certain decoration styles can also be followed through the series of late site contexts (see Table VI).

The earliest forms in the late painted common ware to appear on the San Giovanni site are the small amphora (SG Form 1), the bowl with plain rim (SG Form 21), the small globular pot with vertical rim (SG Form 61), the lid with squared rim (SG Form 62), and the small wide-mouthed pot with slightly flared rim (SG Form 63). The small amphora eventually established itself as the most common form in the ware at San Giovanni. These five forms appear in the Period I Destruction context (Context 3*) which is dated c. 375 A.D. Incised line decoration also appears in this earliest context for the ware.

The jug with plain carinated rim (SG Form 2), the pitcher with flared trefoil rim and carinated neck (SG Form 3), the closed form with painted exterior and reserved base, the bowl with plain rim and burnished interior (SG Form 21 Variant), the heavy globular pot with horizontal rim (SG Form 41), and the wide-mouthed bowl or jar with stabbed combing (SG Form 64) all first appear in Lower Midden I (Context 5*), between 375 and 425 A.D. Seven of fifteen stratified examples of the incised line decoration occur in this context: the type clearly dates c. 400 A.D. at San Giovanni.

Ten new forms appear in Upper Midden I (Context 6*), including two of the most common and distinctive forms in the ware; the flanged spouted bowl (SG Form 42) and its variant, and the wide-mouthed jar (SG Form 43). Examples of wavy combing appear associated with these and other forms. Other new forms are the pitcher with slightly flared rim (SG Form 4), the jug with vertical neck and knobbed rim (SG Form 6), the bowl with ridged carinated rim (SG Form 22), the mortarium (SG Form 44), and the wide-mouthed spouted bowl with carinated wall (SG Form 45). The earliest examples of bowl forms imitating African Red Slip (SG Form 28 imitates Hayes Form 73 A: SG Form 29 imitates Form 61 B/87) appear in the same context.

The jug or pitcher with beveled rim and twisted handle (SG Form 5) first appears in the broadly dated Context 7; that is, at some time before 460 A.D.

New forms in Period III Construction Buildup in Zone 3 are two unique jug forms with ridged rims (SG Forms 10 and 11), the small bowl with ridged rim (SG Form 23), the heavy globular pot with flared ridged rim (SG Form 49), and the small cup with ridged rim (SG Form 66). The ridged rims confirm that these pieces are contemporary and date to the middle of the fifth century A.D.

Seven new forms appear in Context 8 which is construction context for Period III in Zone 2. The most important is the bowl with lipped carinated rim and base ring (SG Form 24). Other forms are the jug or pitcher with thumb rest at the rim (SG Form 7), the jug with ridged carinated rim (SG Form 8), the pseudo-flanged spouted bowl (SG Form 46), the wide-mouthed pot with triangular rim (SG Form 47), and the globular pot with flared squared rim (SG Form 48) that imitates a contemporary coarse ware pot, extremely common on the site. A unique bowl which seems to imitate Phocaean Red Slip Hayes Form 3 (SG Form 30) also appears in this context.

Seven new forms of minor interest appear in Context 12* (Midden IV). They are the pitcher with ridged flared trefoil rim (SG Form 12), the small bowl with lipped rim (SG Form 24 Variant) which imitates ARS Form 99, the thin-walled wide-mouthed jar with triangular rim (SG Form 50), the double-handled globular pot with triangular rim (SG Form 51), and the heavy lid with round under the rim (SG Form 66). The bowl with lipped carinated rim and base ring (SG Form 24) becomes very common in this context (there are eight examples). Bowls imitating African Red Slip Hayes Forms 96 (SG Form 31), 97 (SG Form 32) and 99 (SG Form 24

Variant) also appear here.

Wavy combing becomes very common in this context, and stick-drawn wavy lines also appear. The context is characterized by the occurence of horizontal striations on the lower exterior wall and base of closed forms and especially of bowls.

New forms in the destruction levels of Period III are the bowl with wide ridged rim projecting into the interior (SG Form 33), which may be influenced by the profile of Phocaean Red Slip Hayes Form 8; the bowl with lipped triangular rim (SG Form 34), which may imitate African Red Slip Hayes Form 93/94; the jar with vertical wall and narrow horizontal rim (SG Form 52); and the funnel with ridged carinated rim (SG Form 53).

A variant of the double-handled pot with triangular rim (SG Form 51 Variant)--the variant has a thumb frill just under the rim and a stick-drawn wavy line on its shoulder--occurs only in topsoil.

Of forty-three forms in the painted common ware, the greatest number of new forms (ten) is introduced in Upper Midden I (Context 6*); that is, before 460 A.D. Seven new forms appear in Contexts 8 and 12* respectively; that is, most likely between 460 and 500 A.D. By 460 A.D., twenty-seven of the forty-five forms which occur at San Giovanni had been introduced, including the three most common forms, the small amphora, the flanged spouted bowl, and the wide-mouthed jar.

The only highly successful form to be introduced after 460 A.D. was the bowl with knobbed rim (SG Form 24). In short, although only about one-third of the number of catalogued pieces in stratified contexts appears in contexts pre-dating 460 A.D., the ware was already well-established by that date. At the end of the life of the site, the painted common ware was still strongly established. There is no certain evidence on the site of any decline in the popularity of the ware, its technical level of production, or the energy and innovativeness of its producers.[223]

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[223] An interpretation of these facts in terms of contemporary economy will appear in Chapter VII, "The Pottery as Material Evidence of its Society".

VII. The Pottery as Material Evidence of its Society

While the pottery from an archaeological excavation may be studied only as a collection of inert artifacts or as a dating tool, pottery in its context is potentially a many-faceted source of information on the culture and "dynamic economic structure" of the society which produced and consumed it. it.[234]

San Giovanni is an isolated rural site and it is therefore also a social and economic *unit* of limited size with predictable boundaries. A large percentage of the predicted area of the late site has been excavated, so that the range of finds in the respective stratified contexts can be considered representative of the complete range of artifacts once in use and the finds can be related to a specific population, which is also in some sense a single domestic unit. This situation is in contrast with that of approximately contemporary sites at Carthage, Conimbriga and Luni, where finds of the same period are from excavations in limited areas of ancient towns.

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[234] Awareness of the potential of pottery as anthropological evidence for the life of the classical world is a comparatively recent phenomenon. Andrea Carandini's "Produzione agricola" (1969/1970), pp. 96-119, is a pioneering work. The authors of the publication of the Ostia Terme excavations have continued to analyse the pottery as an economic factor, especially in the concluding section by Carandini and C. Panella in *Ostia III*, pp. 658-696. The quote is taken from an important survey by H. McK. Blake, "Medieval Pottery: Technical Innovation or Economic Change?", in *Papers in Italian Archaeology I*, Part II, BAR Supplementary Series 41 (London, 1978), pp. 435-473.

When analysed within its geographic and chronological context, the pottery of the late period from San Giovanni provides evidence for the production, transport, marketing and consumption of industrially manufactured and commercially traded pottery wares and for the lifestyle, taste and economic level of the people on the site who used it.

A. Continuity of Occupation on the Late Site

The succession of forms in fine wares in the various contexts of the late site can be used as evidence for continuity of occupation (see Tables IV-VI). Although no stratified occupation material of Late Period I outside of the destruction context (Context 3*) was found on the late site in the areas excavated from 1977 to 1980, it is reasonable to assume that occupation was uninterrupted in the short period between c. 340 and c. 375 A.D.

The slight overlap in the pottery horizon of the destruction material of Period I (Context 3*) and that of Lower Midden I (Context 5*) suggests that there was no break in the occupation of the site between Late Periods I and II. In Period II the range of datable pottery types represented in the accumulation of Midden I from c. 375 to c. 460 A.D., show that occupation was essentially uninterrupted.

The concentration and accumulation of refuse in middens also indicates that the late site remained in use over continuous periods of time. On the other hand, the fact that the pottery horizons of Midden I and Midden IV are almost entirely discrete may indicate a break in the occupation of the site between Late Periods II and III. The evidence of the fine ware types allows the possibility of a break of as much as ten to twenty years within the period from 450 to 470 A.D.; on the other hand, the evidence does not *require* such a break. The discovery during the excavation season of 1982 of the *praetorium* of Period II, which is rather similar in plan to that of Period III, makes a break in continuity between the two periods less likely.

There is no evidence to suggest discontinuity in the occupation of Period III. Although the majority of material of Midden IV was probably deposited early in Period III, other middens of this period exist which have not yet been related to the stratigraphic analysis. The fine ware horizons in the middens of Period III overlap slightly (see Table VII). The number of middens, the transfers from one midden site to another, and the amount of pottery involved suggest that the population of Period III was not only numerous but also quite constant.

B. Population Size

A very approximate estimate of the relative population in the different periods of the late site can be figured on the basis of the ratio of catalogued pots in the major occupation contexts for each period to the number of years in which the material collected. It is clear that it was the intention of the occupants of the site to deposit all rubbish in the contemporary middens, and that we have some means of estimating the length of time in which the occupation deposits accumulated. For the purposes of this estimate, I am defining Context 3* as *occupation* material of Late Period I.

As I have noted above, a number of middens of Period III have been excavated which have not yet been related to the stratigraphic analysis. I estimate that the material in Midden IV represents only about a third of all occupation material in Period III; and therefore I reckon the period of deposition of Midden IV as approximately twenty-five years, rather than the full seventy years of Period III.

The ratios of catalogued vessels[235] (a total of 478 pieces in the four contexts), to years of accumulation, are 91/35 for Context 3* (Destruction Material of Period I); 81/50 for Context 5* (Lower Midden I: Occupation Material of early Period II); 123/35 for Context 6* (Upper Midden I: Occupation Material of late Period II); 183/25 for Context 12* (Midden IV: Occupation Material of Period III). The respective values of these ratios expressed in terms of deposition of vessels per year are: 2.60, 1.62, 3.51 and 7.32. If deposition occured at a fairly consistent rate related to population, these figures would indicate that the population of Late Period III is double to triple that of Periods I and II.

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[235] While catalogued pieces make up something less than 5% of all excavated *sherds*, they represent about one half or more of identifiable excavated *vessels*.

The midden cover to the south of the *praetorium* also indicates a relatively high population for the available area in Period III. New refuse heaps were sited in the same general relationship to the buildings as old ones and eventually heavily covered a large percentage of the immediately available area.

The middens are sited immediately adjacent to contemporary buildings. On the basis of the present evidence, it is impossible to judge exactly how near they are to the primary habitation area or to the nearest door (see Map V). On the other hand, the placement of the middens which have now been excavated is interesting in light of the view of the excavators that the main entrance to the complex in Period III was on the north or upward sloping side of the site. The middens of Period III are then all sited in the downward sloping 'backyard' of the habitation area.

The *praetorium* of Period III is approximately 32 meters long and 10 meters wide. Area under roof in Period III is perhaps two and a half times as large. An approximate estimate of the population based on floor area under roof suggests that the area of the site could have housed about

75 people living at subsistence level.[236] The inhabitants of the San Giovanni site in Period III had a lifestyle which included a moderate level of luxury, however (see discussion below); and an estimated population of thirty people based on the floor area of the *praetorium* alone is probably more likely. The living quarters were expanded by another 100 square meters when Rooms 11, 13 and 15 were remodelled, probably c. 500 A.D.; the addition of about ten people to the population of the site is implicitly indicated.

Analysis of the makeup of the population of the site on the basis of the number of pottery vessels is highly speculative,[237] but observation mixed with hypothesis leads to some tentative conclusions. A good basis for such an estimate is the number of examples of one particular type of vessel in a specific deposit. Bowls are the obvious choice, since one can predict a close relationship between the original number of individual serving dishes on the site at any one time and the number of people who used them.

When the number of bowls in each of four contexts (see Table VIII) is related to the number of years that the context accumulated, the ratios are 19/35 (Context 3*),

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[236] The ratio is suggested by R. Naroll in "Floor Area and Settlement Population", *American Antiquity* 27 (1962), pp. 587-589.

[237] A number of relevant studies have been done by anthropologists of American sites; my informant is Michael Deal of the Department of Anthropology at Simon Fraser University. Among recent articles he notes Warren R. Deboer and Donald W. Lathrap, "The Making and Breaking of Shipibo-Conibo Ceramics", *Ethno-archaeology*, ed. Carol Kramer, (New York, 1979), pp. 102-138.

26/50 (Context 5*), 31/35 (Context 6*) and 27/25 (Context 7*). In any one year of the respective contexts, the inhabitants broke 0.54, 0.52, 0.89 or 1.08 bowls; the average of these figures is 0.75 bowls.

One can check this estimate with the number of catalogued individual serving bowls for the whole period of the late site: there are 198 examples including all wares. Since the length of the life of the late site is approximately two hundred years, if fifty years are discounted because of the known material of Period III which is not included among the stratified pieces, a breakage rate for the site of about 1.50 bowls per year is suggested.

The question on which we have little light is what the average breakage rate for bowls might be. Numerous studies by American anthropologists suggest an average breakage rate of 100% per year of bowls in daily use in primitive cultures.[238] If this estimate is accepted as generally correct, San Giovanni either has a startlingly low breakage rate, or a startlingly low population for the area of its buildings. Another possible explanation for the low rate of breakage is that pottery bowls were treated with great care, or used only for special occasions. While all these possibilities must be left open, it seems to me that a breakage rate of 100% of all pottery per year is very high for the classical world, as it is for our own culture. I would suggest a breakage rate of 5% per year, based on my experience in a modern home. If one in twenty bowls (5%) is broken in the course of the average year, this means that the average number of bowls at any one time on the late site ranges from fifteen to thirty.

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[238] Cf. Warren Deboer, "Ceramic longevity and archaeological interpretation, an example from the Upper Ucayali, Peru", *American Antiquity* 39 (1974), Table 1, p. 338.

Obviously, this tentative estimate of population has any number of weaknesses, because too many variables must be taken into consideration. It seems possible, however, on the basis of floor area and pottery density, to estimate the population of the site tentatively at ten to fifteen in Periods I and II, and at perhaps thirty in the early part of Period III, increasing by twenty-five percent in the later part of the period.

C. The Range of Wares Acquired on the Late Site

There is no trace of any evidence that San Giovanni produced its own ceramic wares during any of the periods of the late site. A kiln predicted by the magnetometer survey was excavated. It seems on the basis of its plan, the archaeomagnetic dating, and the associated pottery, not to have been in use later than the late first or early second century A.D.: it therefore clearly belongs to the Roman villa of the early site.[239] The forms of the few pottery wasters found also indicate a date in the first or second century A.D.[240]

The pottery consumed on the late site falls into the categories of imported fine wares, painted common ware, coarse ware, and imported amphoras (see Table III for relative counts of these classes).

The Fine Wares

A certain percentage of the catalogued pottery in the pottery horizons of San Giovanni of the fourth, fifth and early sixth centuries A.D. is imported fine ware. The percentage of these wares rises to form 27% of all catalogued pottery in Lower Midden I, but drops abruptly to between 5 and 8% of catalogued pottery in contexts dating from the middle of the fifth century A.D. and later. The selection of catalogued pottery has certainly distorted the true percentage of fine wares in the contexts. Imported fine wares actually make up about five percent of the sherd count of all excavated pottery in Midden I and 1% of the sherd count in Midden IV. The percentages would be even lower if figured by weight. The ratio indicated by both counts is approximately the same, however; that is, fine wares abruptly drop to less than one-third of their former count on the site around the middle of the fifth century A.D.

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[239] Cf. A. M. Small, R. J. Buck, J. J. Rossiter, J. Freed, "Una fornace a pianta rettangolare in San Giovanni di Ruoti (Potenza)" and G. S. Hoye, "Rapporto introduttorio sull' archeomagnetismo della fornace di San Giovanni di Ruoti", prepared for a special issue of *Rivista di Archeologia dell'Università di Venezia* edited by N. Cuomo di Caprio, now in press.

[240] Two pottery wasters, P1503 and P3637, were catalogued. They were stratified in Period I Destruction (Context 5) and in the buildup for the Period III apsed building (Context 7), both of which include residual material from the early site. Both are cooking pots in orange coarse ware, with globular bodies and flared rims above a medium length neck. The type is characteristic of destruction contexts of the early site at San Giovanni.

Given the date of the San Giovanni contexts, the types of fine wares which appear, bowls either in African Red Slip or, less commonly, in Phocaean Red Slip, are, generally speaking, those which might have been predicted, given the known distribution of these wares and the relative popularity of various forms. Forms which are particularly common at San Giovanni, for instance, Hayes Forms 61 A and B, 53 B and 99 in African Red Slip, and Form 3 in Phocaean Red Slip, are those which were most marketable Mediterranean-wide.[241] On the other hand, Forms 80 B and 91 B especially might be expected to appear in greater numbers in contexts of the end of the fourth and early fifth centuries A.D., and San Giovanni has an unexpectedly high percentage of examples of Form 53 B. In the mid-fifth century A.D., a greater number of examples of Forms 82-84 might have been expected.[242]

There is a very varied collection of forms of African Red Slip bowls in Midden I, suggesting that the vessels were probably acquired in a somewhat haphazard way over a period of time. There are far fewer African bowls in Midden IV, and six of eight are examples of Form 99 B, raising the possibility that they were all acquired at one time.

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[241] Cf. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), Distribution Maps, esp. maps 6, 8, 11, 12 and 15.

[242] J. W. Hayes, pers. comm., September, 1982.

The number of examples of Phocaean Red Slip on the site, when compared with the count of African Red Slip bowls imported at the beginning and end of the fifth century A.D., fits the general picture of a drop in the acquisition of imported fine wares from around the middle of the fifth century A.D. and indicates that Phocaean Red Slip was perceived as an exact equivalent of the African wares (see Tables IV, V and VI).

The Painted Common Ware

Twenty-six percent of the catalogued pottery from the late site is in the painted common ware, and the ware approaches fifty percent of catalogued pottery in contexts of Period III. There is a correlation in all late period contexts between the percentage of the painted common ware and the date of the context. The rule is that the higher the percentage of painted common ware, the later the date of the context. The count based on catalogued examples is 8/91 (9%) in Context 3*; 20/80 (25%) in Context 5* (Lower Midden I); 37/124 (30%) in Context 6* (Upper Midden I); and 83/183 (45%) in Context 12* (Midden IV) (see Table III).

The percentages figured from catalogued examples are probably too low. While we have not regularly weighed sherds at San Giovanni, the sherds in Midden IV (Context 12*) were weighed as well as counted. Painted common ware, which comprised about 49 percent of the pottery in the context by sherd count, made up just over 60 percent by weight (see Table I). Both figures are significantly higher than the figure of 45% derived from the catalogued pottery.

The date of the earliest appearance on the late San Giovanni site of each form in this ware can be determined from the cross-tabulations of the forms in the stratigraphic contexts (see Table VI). Once they appear, the large service pieces in the ware become stereotyped and continue to hold their place in the succeeding pottery contexts of the late periods. There had been no earlier equivalents for the most common of these forms, the large spouted service pieces and the wide-mouthed jar. In contrast, from the beginning to the end of the era of the late site, the bowl forms in painted common ware imitated the contemporary forms of the imported African Red Slip bowls and therefore reveal the influence of fashion (see Tables IV and VI).

The continuing use of the painted common ware from the late fourth to the early sixth centuries again suggests that the majority of the pottery on the site was supplied to it in an organized, regular and predictable way.

Coarse Wares and Amphoras

Coarse wares make up about fifty percent of the pottery of the late site (see Tables I and III). Cooking pots with relatively thin walls form by far the majority of the vessels in the coarse ware. Other forms, much less common than the cooking pots, include pitchers, lids and bowls. One of the most interesting forms in coarse ware is the individual simple serving bowls with burnished interiors which seem to have been the ordinary dinner service in Late Period I and were still fairly common in Period II (see Table VIII).[243] Several examples of very large (over forty centimeters in diameter) heavy-walled (about 1 cm thick) shallow bowls, which often show evidence of carry holes and mends, appear in Midden IV (Context 12*, Occupation Material of Late Period III). These bowls are among the most interesting of the coarse ware forms, as they do not have known parallels in the contemporary pottery idiom.

While African Red Slip and Phocaean Red Slip are the best understood by far of the late Roman wares, some amphora types, particularly the African 'spatheion' and the Palestinian 'Gaza amphora', were widely exported. Most identifiable types of these amphoras cannot be dated more narrowly than to an approximate century by external dating evidence. Small '*spatheia*', which are probably African in origin, appear in contexts dated before 460 A.D. and in topsoil at San Giovanni (of these, only 5 are rims and therefore certainly discrete individuals); Palestinian 'Gaza' amphoras, the other certainly identified imported amphora type, seem to appear only in contexts postdating 460 A.D. (only 2 of 6 catalogued examples are rims) (see Table III).

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[243] These bowls have a great deal in common with Hayes Form 181 in African coarse ware, but the pieces at San Giovanni are much later than the second or third century date which Hayes has suggested for the African form.

The low count of known types of imported amphoras on the late San Giovanni site is striking. While there is little difficulty explaining a lack of imported wine amphoras, since San Giovanni was no doubt essentially self-sufficient in the production of wine, there is little likelihood that the site could have supplied its own oil--which was certainly needed for oil lamps.[244] Both types of imported amphoras could have been used to import oil rather than wine, according to a study of the possible contents of African and Palestinian amphoras from the excavation of the fifth century 'Schola Praeconum' on the Palatine in Rome.[245]

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[244] Ruggini notes that substitutes for olive oil are recorded from the beginning of the seventh century, but it was evidently still in ordinary use in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., despite a serious shortage in the late fourth; Lelia Ruggini, *Economia e società nell'Italia annonaria: rapporti fra agricoltura e commercio dal IV al VI secolo d.C.*, (Milan, 1961), pp. 182-183 and notes.

Since oil was used on the site, it was transported to the site in some kind of container. There is no evidence that this container was the painted common ware amphora. There is a possibility that wooden barrels were used for this purpose, although they were ordinarily used for wine, cf. "cupa" in Daremberg Saglio.

[245] Cf. D. B. Whitehouse, "The Schola Praeconum and the Food Supply of Rome in the Fifth Century A.D.", in *Papers in Italian Archaeology II*, ed. Graeme Barker and Richard Hodges, (London, 1981), pp. 191-195, and Monica C. Rothschild-Boros, "The Determination of Amphora Contents", pp. 79-89 in the same volume.

D. San Giovanni and the Commercial Market

Since the pottery used on the late site was not made there, the site was not economically self-sufficient. Either the site produced a surplus of goods above subsistence for trade, or the inhabitants had other resources with which to acquire goods from outside.

This fact raises very difficult questions. The historical period of the late site at San Giovanni includes the last one hundred years of the Roman Empire in the west and the reigns of the Germanic kings Odoacer (476-493 A.D.) and Theoderic (493-526 A.D.). The kingdom founded by Theoderic ended with the Gothic Wars; that is, the wars of the Byzantine reconquest, which introduced the Dark Ages to Italy. The evidence from the site suggests that occupation of the site ended at about the period when the Gothic Wars began (535 A.D.). The occupation of the late site therefore occurs at a crucial historical juncture.

In the final three quarters of a century of the Western Roman Empire, silver issues of coins of intermediate size, coins suited to the ordinary market exchanges of ordinary people for daily life, were simply not being minted. Furthermore, earlier silver issues had also largely gone out of circulation around 400 A.D., often into coin hoards, evidently because their real metal value was higher than their mint-marked value.[246] During this period, there is no archaeological evidence of the use of equivalent weights in metal as a medium of exchange; and there is no literary evidence of barter, although this certainly does not mean that it did not occur. A likely solution to the question of means of exchange is that most ordinary people must have been attached to a *dominus* who bought supplies in quantities such that gold coinage was a reasonable form of exchange.[247]

This state of affairs was repaired in Italy under the Germanic kings, who again issued silver coinage of intermediate value. However, there is no evidence that the coins minted by the Germanic kings were in use on the San Giovanni site; that is, there is no tangible evidence that the inhabitants of San Giovanni dealt in a money economy for the ordinary exchanges of daily life after the beginning of the fifth century A.D.[248]

While the evidence of the pottery found on the site at San Giovanni is tacit evidence that certain classes of goods were distributed over a wide area, distribution of goods does not necessarily indicate profit-motivated trade; many such 'redistributions' in the Dark Ages were due to exchanges of gifts or to theft.[249] Logical alternatives to profit-motivated trade for the distribution of artifacts offered by Grierson are various forms of gift, outright theft, or barter exchange of simple peasant handicrafts. The acquisition of pottery in a range of wares and forms over a long period of time indicates that neither gift nor theft are adequate theories, and the imported fine wares are certainly commercial products.

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[246] Cf. A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, A Social, Economic and Administrative Study, 284-602*, (Oxford, 1964), pp. 438-445, p. 254 and notes, p. 824. See also articles by P. Grierson cited below.

[247] This is the argument of Philip Grierson in "Problemi monetari dell'alto medio evo", in *Bollettino della Società Pavese di Storia Patria* 54 (1954), pp. 67-82. The article is reprinted in his *Dark Age Numismatics*, (London, 1979). In this article, Grierson specifically addresses the question of how commercial transactions were being carried out in this period in the absence of coins of practical denominations.

[248] See the evidence for this in the section on coins in Chapter III, "The Evidence of the Small Finds", pp. 45-50.

It has been suggested that the painted common ware could have been produced by itinerant potters, functioning within a predominantly barter economy, who took their methods and models with them, using local clay with suitable additions and marketing their product at a number of different production centers.[250] Such a system might explain how the ware was distributed over a wide inland and mountainous area, through which transportation would have been difficult and expensive in ancient times, in a variety of forms which do not lend themselves to the easy portability that is believed to be an important factor in the wide marketing of the African Red Slip bowls. This suggestion is particularly attractive as there is no certainly identified production center for the painted common ware.

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[249] The argument follows a second important article by Grierson, which discusses questions directly relevant to the interpretation of the artifact evidence on the San Giovanni site; cf. P. Grierson, "Commerce in the Dark Ages: A Critique of the Evidence", from *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (5th Ser.), 9 (1959), pp. 123-140. In relation to the Dark Ages, Grierson states that where artifact evidence is interpreted to indicate profit-motivated trade, the *onus probandi* is on the interpreter.

[250] This possibility was first suggested to me by R. J. Buck in December of 1981, who notes that it is used in the Peloponnese even in modern times.

There are several factors which make itinerant potters unlikely. First, transient artisans would not have met with approval from the rigid taxation system of the late Roman Empire. During the final century of the Western Roman Empire and through more than half a century of domination by the Germanic kings, the province of *Lucania et Bruttii* remained part of a sophisticated administrative system with wide-ranging economic potentials and controls. The taxation and administrative systems of the Roman Empire were adopted wholesale by Odoacer and by Theoderic and his successors, and the civil administration continued to be carried out by Romans of senatorial families.[251]

The constitutions do not imply that such itinerant potters exist; rather, they take for granted that potters have fixed establishments, whether rural or urban, large or small scale. The first principle behind the legislation is the encouragement of the artisan and craftsman to *produce*. The second principle is that the government has the right to supervise and tax such production. The laws of the period were obviously intended to meet every case. The cases known fell into the categories either of a simple manual laborer who was attached to an estate, or a larger or smaller scale entrepreneur using hired or slave labor.

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[251] The situation in Italy in the early sixth century is comparatively well-documented by the letters of the Roman senator Cassiodorus, writing as an official of Theoderic and and of his successors. Cassiodorus was a native of Scyllacium in Bruttium. His view of the times is occasionally expressed in lyrically positive, and therefore somewhat suspect, terms.

Rural potters, those who actually made pots by their personal manual labor, were exempted from the *collatio lustralis*.[252] Urban potters were specifically exempted from compulsory public services (*munera*) with other artisans of both basic necessities and luxuries. The expressed purpose of this exemption was to encourage artisans to perfect their skills and train their children as apprentices.[253] Both principles are obvious in the letter of Cassiodorus to Ampelius, Despotius and Theodulus, Roman senators who have been licensed by the authority of Theoderic to run *figulinae*. By this letter they are guaranteed protection, no doubt against the machinations of state tax collectors. As their immunity is couched in general terms, against superfluous *munera*, the implication, considering previous legislation on the question, is that they were not liable to *any* taxes on their industry.[254]

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[252] *Cod. Theod.* 13. 1. 10, 374 A.D.; The context clarifies the intent of the tax to apply to profits made through *marketing* only.

[253] *Cod. Theod.* 13.4.2, 337 A.D.; this move to protect and preserve the arts has been interpreted as a sure sign that they were moribund by Ferdinand Lot in *The End of the Ancient World and the Beginnings of the Middle Ages*, (New York, 1961 ed.).

[254] Cassiod., *Var.* II, 23, 507-511 A.D. (Dates attached to the letters of Cassiodorus are taken from Ruggini, *Economia e società* (1961), pp. 554-557.)

Second, the painted common ware can be traced for 150 years at San Giovanni, with uniformity and continuity of development over this length of time. Consistent production and marketing over such a length of time also suggest a fixed manufacturing center. The technical skills required for the production and distribution of the ware over a wide area of southern Italy also argues against its being a peasant handicraft acquired piece by piece by barter.

Third, while no certain place of manufacture for the painted common ware of the fifth century has been identified, the find spots suggest a possible center of manufacture in the area of northeastern Basilicata; and ties to a long medieval tradition of broad-line and narrow-line red-painted wares which seem to have been manufactured in the vicinity of Foggia make a fixed manufacturing center extremely likely.[255]

There is therefore no likely alternative to the acquisition of the pottery on the site on the commercial market. Ceramic products could certainly have been acquired in the markets of Lucanian cities. In the fourth and fifth centuries, fixed market days allowed the Roman and succeeding Gothic governments to exercise a close control over commercial exchanges and to collect the sales tax (the *siliquatarium*) or one-twenty-fourth which was paid half and half by vendor and buyer.[256] Rural people who bought at urban markets or at the great annual fair of Lucania at Marcilianum[257] did not have to pay 'gate' taxes (the *octroi*) on goods which were for their own use and which they were carrying out to their farms;[258] it may be that this law was hardly relevant in the coin-poor fifth century A.D.

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[255] The place of manufacture is discussed in Chapter VI, "Late Roman Painted Common Ware", pp. 175-176.

There is nothing in the set of circumstances at San Giovanni to contradict Grierson's suggestion that most purchasing in the fifth century was done for a household by the *dominus* or his representatives, and that the average man had lost contact with exchanges in coin. On the other hand, the logical alternatives he has set in order to define whether artifact distribution must necessarily be interpreted in terms of commercial trade suggest that this is the only reasonable interpretation of the range of pottery which appears on the late San Giovanni site.

E. Changing Patterns of Consumption

On the late site, painted common ware becomes increasingly dominant and African Red Slip becomes increasingly rare (see Tables II and VIII). In the mid fifth century A.D., Phocaean Red Slip appears on the fine ware market in competition with, or, more likely, as a replacement for the African wares.

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[256] Cf. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* (1964), p. 826.
[257] The fair is described in detail by Cassiodorus, *Var.* XII, 15, 535/536 A.D.
[258] Cf. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* III (1964), p. 271, n. 4; the source is *Cod. Theod.* IV, 13, 2 and 3, 321 A.D.

Comparison of the relative representation of these wares in the bowl forms is particularly valid, since the export of the African entrepreneurs was almost exclusively in the form of bowls. The changing pattern of consumption is particularly evident when the number of bowls in the various wares are analysed in terms of the most important stratigraphic contexts (see Table VIII). For Contexts 3*, 5*, 6* and 12*, I have listed each bowl appropriate for an individual serving, judging from form, size (ranging from 14.0 to 31.0 cms in rim diameter), and finish.

In Period I, the African Red Slip bowls seem very large to serve individuals; on the other hand, the coarse ware bowls with burnished interior fit the requirements very well. In the earlier part of Period II, African Red Slip fine ware makes up nearly two-thirds of all bowls. Later in Period II, about a quarter of the fine ware bowls are in Phocaean Red Slip, holding the percentage of fine ware to the same level; and painted common ware makes up 5 of 31 bowls, as compared to 2 of 26 in early Period II.

The picture changes sharply in Midden IV (Occupation Material of Period III). The figures are reversed from those of the early part of Period II. Now painted common ware bowls make up two-thirds of the bowl count, while African Red Slip and Phocaean Red Slip make up only 8 of 27 bowls. The explanation for this shift must be that the fine wares have become relatively less available and more expensive, and that they have largely been replaced by the painted common ware. The African Red Slip bowls were imported and of higher technical quality than the south Italian bowls, and it is reasonable to assume that they had become a relative luxury.

Since the African bowls were still supplying part of the demand for bowls on the site in Period III, it is possible that they were used by a person or persons of higher status than those using the painted common ware. We may therefore imagine a ratio of 'masters' to 'servants' of 8 to 19 in the era of Period III represented by the occupation material of Midden IV.[259]

F. The Degree of Wealth and Luxury on the Site

The common imported fine ware forms in use on the San Giovanni site during the late period are substantially identical to those in use on the well-published site at the town of Conimbriga in southern Portugal. While the publications of other fifth century sites do not provide equally extensive information, the range of imported fine ware from San Giovanni is generally typical of that to be expected at almost any site with enough imported pottery to be dated to this period. This is especially true of those sited around the western Mediterranean.

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[259] Slavery was very common in Italy, and particularly in southern Italy, during this period. Lots of land were usually sold with slave families (*condumae*) as part of the parcel; cf. Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy* (1981), p. 152. The fine young people for sale is one of the major attractions mentioned by Cassiodorus among the produce offered at the major Lucanian fair at Marcilianum; cf. Cassiod., *Var*. VIII, 33, 527 A.D. Ruggini lists a number of examples of famines in Italy in the late fourth and early fifth centuries in which people were forced to sell themselves or their children into slavery, pp. 173-175. Jones discusses the widespread existence of slavery in the period in *Later Roman Empire* (1964), pp. 851-855.

It is therefore not possible to characterize San Giovanni as a 'wealthy' site or a 'poor' site on the basis of the amount and quality of the pottery and the variety of types in use. On the other hand, the range of pottery in use does indicate moderate economic prosperity, and the site was never outside the mainstream of the contemporary trade in exported pottery. The fact that all the pottery of the late site was acquired from elsewhere indicates that the occupants of the site lived at a level well above subsistence.

In both Periods II and III, the range of extant artifacts brought to the site suggests prosperity, if not wealth. In both periods there was some acquisition of goods which must have been comparative luxuries. While the quantity and range of imported fine ware bowls is notably more impressive in contexts of Period II, the number of imported African lamps increased strikingly in Period III. Considered in the light of the other artifact evidence, the glass emphasizes, but perhaps also exaggerates a transition from a more luxurious and aesthetic lifestyle in the late fourth and early fifth century A.D. (Period II) to a more practical style in the late fifth and early sixth century

(Period III), in which glass vessels are reduced to drinking goblets and the occasional flagon and have become a standardized and less elegant commodity.

As I have already noted, the pottery evidence indicates that the population in Late Period III was *higher* than in Late Periods I and II, and this fact in itself implicitly argues for a situation of increasing economic viability. The construction of large complexes of buildings in Periods II and III indicates a high level of expectations in terms of the impressiveness and size of the living quarters. The structures of Period III represent an enormous expenditure; but the original construction did not exhaust the resources of the owner, as the remodelling of the suite of ground floor rooms and the addition of a large, if crude and inelegant, mosaic floor indicate.[260] Room 15 and the smaller adjoining Rooms 11 and 13 formed an important addition to the living area of Period III; and no doubt indicate a higher standard of living, additional inhabitants of upper-class level or both. This remodelling strengthens the argument for a perhaps unexpected degree of disposable wealth on such a secluded site at a date in the late fifth or early sixth century A.D.

It is of course not impossible that a relatively wealthy person might choose such a retreat. In fact, a letter of Cassiodorus to Eusebius, *vir illustris*, granted him permission to retire to his estate in the interior of Lucania for eight months, with the proviso that his return to a more suitably civilized life at court at the end of that period was much wanted.[261] His title indicates that Eusebius stood at the very top of the Roman social scale. It may be that a site such as San Giovanni could have been a suitable rural retreat for a wealthy senator of the early sixth century A.D.; the fact is that we do not have any material evidence for the lifestyle of the wealthy in this period.

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[260] See discussion of architectural features in Chapter III, "The Evidence of the Small Finds", pp. 58-60.

General economic prosperity seems to be essentially consistent throughout the late periods on the San Giovanni site. Although the midden contexts of Periods II and III can be differentiated in terms of the quantity of the importation of fine wares to the site, the pottery indicates little economic differentiation otherwise. Furthermore, the range of dated material in the various middens of Period III implicitly demonstrates that the end of the life of the site was not preceded by any period of economic difficulty.

A few examples of painted common ware bowls from unstratified late contexts and several examples of coarse ware bowls from Period III (Context 12*) were mended (P3328, P3354); the technique of mending used drill holes and lead solder, although the lead has been lost in examples from the late site. Any mending implies that pottery was not seen as cheap and easily replaced; but the meaning of mending in terms of wealth on the site becomes more difficult to interpret if one sees the population of the site as being made up of wealthy masters versus poor servants or slaves, since the dumping of all refuse in one area leads to archaeological evidence that is sociologically mixed.[262]

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[261] Cassiod., *Var.*, IV, 48, c. 507-511 A.D.

G. Aesthetics, Taste and Cultural Interaction

The pottery production of the late Roman Empire has been described as being of no artistic merit, relatively low technical quality and as bearing 'execrable' decoration.[263] The African fine wares of the fifth century A.D. hardly merit such harsh censure, for if they are not 'fine' by any aesthetic standard, they are not of a markedly lower quality than the production of the second century A.D. On the other hand, this is not too unkind a description of the painted common ware of the fifth century A.D. in southern Italy.

The percentage of painted common ware among the pottery at San Giovanni indicates that it dominated the market for pottery vessels of a better grade than cooking pots in Period III. The forms in the ware were clumsy and stereotyped, but evidently the contemporary consumers at San Giovanni were thoroughly satisfied. At any rate, there is no evidence in the contexts of Period III for changes in taste or erratic buying forays. The impression given by the painted common ware is that the inhabitants of San Giovanni in Period III were solid practical-minded people, certainly not aesthetes.

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[262] The observation was made by Dr. Ruth Gruhn of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Alberta, pers. comm., September, 1982.
[263] Lot, *The End of the Ancient World* (1961 ed.), p. 148.

Drinking vessels in Periods II and III appear to be entirely of glass, and the glass goblets in use give the impression of being miniatures.[264] The rim diameter of what is evidently the ordinary individual serving dish in the painted common ware in Period III (SG Form 24 A) averages 26.5 centimeters (13 examples; the range is from 24.0 to 30.0 cms). These painted common ware dishes are comparable in size to African Red Slip Forms 76 and 87 and to the larger examples of Phocaean Red Slip Form 3. In contrast, the diameters of six rims of the somewhat more elegantly made Form 99 B in African Red Slip from contexts of Period III vary from 17.5 to 19.5 centimeters (the average is 18.5 cms).[265]

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[264] Their rim diameter is about 6 to 8 cms, height 9 to 10 cms, base diameter only about 3 to 4 cms. This is the type and size of the ordinary drinking vessel in use in the Mediterranean from the fourth to the seventh centuries A.D., see section on the glass from San Giovanni in Chapter III, "The Evidence of the Small Finds", pp. 55-58.

[265] The diameters of the most common Roman fine ware dishes vary surprisingly at different points in time. The typical forms in Italian terra sigillata, which were commonly used even in the Roman military camps of the northern frontiers in the first century A.D. averaged about 15 cms in diameter. African Red Slip forms of the second century average around 18 cms. In the third and fourth centuries, diameters of 30 to 35 cms are usual for the very common Forms 50 and 61 A; and examples of Form 61 B on the site at San Giovanni, where it is the most common form of the late fourth and early fifth centuries A.D., vary between 25 and 28 cms.

The bowls in the painted common ware reveal the influence of the forms of the imported African Red Slip wares, which had enjoyed a long and secure vogue in south Italy. They also copy that style in the slip which covers the interior and upper outer rim of the bowls. The changing fashion must have posed a challenge to the manufacturers of the painted common ware, since the African Red Slip bowl types of the second half of the fifth century A.D. with lipped rims and applied bases were technically more difficult to make.

They not only adopted these characteristics in the most commonly produced bowl forms in the ware, but they also manufactured occasional more explicit copies of the difficult African Red Slip forms of the second half of the fifth and the first half of the sixth centuries A.D.[244] These copies appear to be almost exactly contemporary to the African Red Slip originals, appearing in the same stratigraphic contexts (see Tables V and VI). On the other hand, the painted common ware imitations were inferior technically in both fabric and turning to the imported African bowls. The south Italian potters did not have the wherewithal to equal the elegance of the forms or the fine quality of the slip treatment of the African pieces.

While the bowl forms in the painted common ware are clearly influenced and even determined by forms in African

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[244] These forms are described in detail in Chapter VI, pp. 238-243.

Red Slip, many of the other forms, in particular the spouted pieces and the funnel, cannot be traced to any obvious Roman antecedents. They probably evolved naturally from forms used under the earlier empire, however; in particular from the mortarium and a carinated bowl form.[247]

H. The Crisis in the Importation of Fine Wares

African Red Slip wares had dominated the commercial pottery market around the Mediterranean Sea from the beginning of the second century A.D., and related wares continued to be produced and marketed widely until the seventh century A.D.

The importation of African pottery to Italy generally ceases by the end of the sixth century A.D. In fact, the latest forms on Italian sites are often Forms 91 B and 80 B, suggesting an end date by the mid fifth century A.D.[248] African Red Slip forms of the sixth to mid-seventh centuries have been found in Italy, but they are rare.[249]

African Red Slip was technically the finest pottery on the Mediterranean market from the second to the early seventh century A.D. It was also standardised, produced in great quantities, very widely marketed and evidently relatively cheap and used even by the poor. The quantity, quality, and chronological persistence of the African production indicates that it was overseen by entrepreneurs with a sharp eye on the potentials of the Mediterranean market.[270]

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[247] See discussion of this question in Chapter VI, pp. 176-182.

[248] Hayes, *Supplement*, p. 516.

[249] Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), Maps 11 and 12, p. 458 and C. Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy* (1981), p. 94.

The scale of the commerce in African Red Slip had to be large enough to offset the costs of transport. Carandini has suggested that the sea transport of these bowls to Italy went largely as a merchandising sideline with the ships which were already transporting *frumentum* or oil from Africa for the Italian *annona*.[271] These merchants were not taxed on their private cargos.[272] Bowls, more than ninety percent of the exported vessels, were the easiest forms to stack and stow in a limited area.

This theory is generally borne out by the association on archaeological sites of African Red Slip bowls with African oil amphoras.[273] At San Giovanni, where the number of imported amphoras of any type is minimal, a few amphoras of African provenance (*spatheia*) appear in Period II occupation material (Contexts 5*, Lower Midden I and 6*, Upper Midden I) along with a great number of African Red Slip bowls, largely in Hayes Forms 61 A, 61 B, 53 and 80.

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[270] Cf. Blake, "Medieval Pottery", (1978), pp. 438, 439 and notes.

[271] Carandini, "Produzione agricola" (1969/70), pp. 100 ff.

[272] Jones, *Later Roman Empire* (1964), p. 828, and cf. vol. III, p. 271, n. 4. His source is *Cod. Theod.* xiii, 5, 326 A.D.; 17, 386 A.D.; 23, 393 A.D.; 24, 395 A.D.

[273] Carandini, "Produzione agricola" (1969/1970), passim; cf. also Blake, who associates the export of African oil with the development of the production of African lamps, pointing out the the lamps are a natural parallel opportunity, "Medieval Pottery" (1978), p. 439.

These imported bowls indicate a thriving connection between San Giovanni and the trade in African pottery in the late fourth and early fifth centuries A.D.

At some period before the middle of the fifth century A.D. the African bowls were accompanied or superseded by an influx of Phocaean Red Slip ware (see Tables II, III and V) in early versions of Hayes Form 3. This form has a much wider distribution than earlier forms in the ware;[274] its distribution as far west as Italy and the Iberian peninsula marks a significant inroad by a product of eastern manufacture (it was produced at Phocaea in northwestern Asia Minor) in the monopoly formerly held by African Red Slip.

Phocaean Red Slip ware was in all probability carried to its markets by sea. The distribution of Phocaean Red Slip provides evidence that overseas traded goods came to San Giovanni by way of *south* Italian ports, since it has been found at Egnazia and Taranto, and Saepinum in Samnium marks the northernmost limit of documented finds of the ware in Italy. It is likely that the port of entry for the Phocaean Red Slip on our site was Egnazia (near Brindisi), Taranto or a subsidiary south-eastern port.[275] Ports on the western side of the peninsula are less likely sources of the ware at San Giovanni because of difficult road connections.

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[274] Cf. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (1972), distribution map of 'Late Roman C' Form 3, Map 33 on p. 464, and p. 416. The map is now outdated by the many finds of Form 3 in the Iberian peninsula; Hayes, *Supplement* (1980), p. 526.

[275] D'Andria, in an article on the late Roman pottery in Apulia, sees the finds of Phocaean Red Slip at Egnazia, north of Brindisi, as evidence for direct trade with the east through the southern ports. He also cites evidence of trade with Asia Minor to the heel of Italy (Santa Maria di Leuca) and to the Ionian coast; cf. F. D'Andria, *ASNP* (1977), p. 80 and notes.

The examples of Phocaean Red Slip from San Giovanni indicate that when that ware began to appear in some of the former markets of the African wares it was not technically as well made; certainly it was not as hard-fired or as well-slipped. The sudden appearance of an inferior product in western markets must have had some economic motivation; if it was usurping the place of the superior African wares, it is natural to suppose a break in the supply.

In *Late Roman Pottery* Hayes saw no evidence of discontinuity in the supply of African pottery types to the Mediterranean market in the middle of the fifth century A.D; that is, no obvious evidence that the African pottery manufacture was disrupted by the invasion of North Africa by the Vandals in 429 A.D.[274] Hayes has since lowered his suggested dates for African Red Slip forms of the first half of the fifth century A.D. He now believes that forms such as 61 B, 53 B, 80 and 91 run no later than the end of the first quarter of the fifth century A.D. By shifting the dates of these forms back, he has opened up a gap in his chronology of African Red Slip forms from the middle to the late fifth century A.D.[377]

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[274] Waage originally suggested that the production of the North African wares should be dated from the second to the seventh centuries A.D., with a hundred year break in the fifth century caused by the Vandal invasion of North Africa; cf. Waage, *Antioch IV* (1948), pp. 43-46.

The material in the occupation contexts of the late site at San Giovanni allows us to discern the sequence of events. The crucial evidence at San Giovanni is the appearance of Phocaean Red Slip Form 3 C in Upper Midden I. Aside from the examples of this ware and two pieces of African Red Slip which may date to the middle of the fifth century A.D., the fine ware pottery horizon in Upper Midden I is exactly parallel to that in Lower Midden I, which has its end date c. 425 A.D. The later African Red Slip forms and the Phocaean Red Slip in Upper Midden I indicate that the context continued to accumulate immediately after the first quarter of the fifth century, but that the African wares were shortly superseded by Phocaean Red Slip ware.

This means that the introduction of the Asian ware to the San Giovanni site was almost exactly contemporary with the Vandal invasion. The abrupt changes in the types of fine wares imported to San Giovanni shortly after 425 A.D. suggest that the production of the traditional pottery centers at Carthage was completely disrupted for at least a few years. If Carandini is correct in linking the trade in African Red Slip with the *navicularii* who carried the *annona*, the loss of North Africa to the Empire would certainly have caused a marked curtailment of trade, even if Vandal depredations had not caused direct harm to the manufacturing centers.[278]

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[377] Hayes, *Supplement* (1980), p. 516-517.

Either or both of these factors would have provided an excellent opportunity for the technically somewhat inferior Phocaean Red Slip to move into western Mediterranean markets. A relatively short period of interruption of the African trade has been impossible to document in the archaeological evidence up to now: while the pattern at San Giovanni cannot be said to prove that an interruption of the African supply actually did occur, it is very much in agreement with such a hypothesis.

The production and trade in African fine wares revived to a certain extent in its old trading area, and a number of examples of African Red Slip wares of the second half of the fifth century A.D. reached the San Giovanni site. Finds in fifth century contexts at San Giovanni suggest that the production of the workshop which produced Hayes Forms 76 and 87 was never disrupted.

The most common forms in African Red Slip at San Giovanni in contexts of Period III are Forms 96, 97 and especially 99 (a series the provenance of which has been identified as Oudna in North Africa). These forms are small deep bowls with applied footring bases that have little in common with the forms of the early fifth century A.D. They are made in a new fabric, both coarser and darker in color than the ordinary fabric of Form 61 B, the dominant form in the first quarter of the fifth century. The group represents a revolutionary change in the form and fabric of the African bowls; such a change reflects some break in the continuity of the manufacture of African Red Slip.

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[278] This point has not been noted by Carandini, who thought that the association of the trade in fine wares and in oil would have continued until the Arab conquest; cf. "Produzione agricola" (1969/1970), p. 114.

The evidence from Conimbriga indicates that the African Red Slip forms which Hayes originally dated to the end of the fifth century A.D. and later (Forms 96, 97, 99 and 102), and Phocaean Red Slip forms dated to the second half of the fifth century A.D. and the first half of the sixth century A.D. (Forms 3 E and 3 E/F), are actually nearly contemporary and date from the middle or, at latest, the second half of the fifth century A.D. (The occurence of these forms in contexts of Period III at San Giovanni requires that Period III construction not be dated substantially later than 460 A.D.) The evidence therefore indicates that the new phase in the production of African Red Slip was launched c. 450 A.D. In the meantime, North Africa had become an independent Vandal kingdom, the claims of which were recognized by the Roman emperor in 442 A.D.[279]

In Period III, the African wares were never imported to the San Giovanni site in their former numbers; but they continued as the standard of fashion, as the imitations of various African forms in painted common ware at San Giovanni indicate.[280] There is no association of the African forms imported in Period III with African amphoras, of which only a few wall sherds appear in contexts later than Period II occupation. San Giovanni therefore provides no evidence to associate the export of African pottery with the export of African oil amphoras in the second half of the fifth century A.D. The few identifiable amphoras in contexts of Period III are Palestinian or 'Gaza' amphoras, which may imply that oil was being imported from the eastern Mediterranean.[281]

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[279] Cf. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* (1964), p. 190.

Examples of Hayes Form 99 B are the latest securely datable pieces of African Red Slip on the San Giovanni site. Form 91 C *may* date slightly later, but its date is not as well established. It is probably not feasible to date the examples of Form 99 B at San Giovanni later than 500 A.D. On the other hand, two examples of Form 3 F (SG Rim Type 4) in Phocaean Red Slip date to the first half of the sixth century A.D., and this ware therefore provides the latest stratified dating evidence for the site.

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[280] David Whitehouse and Paul Arthur report imitations of African bowls, particularly of Hayes Form 61 A, as well as an imitation of Hayes Form 105 in painted common ware from Campania, suggesting an industry dating from the fourth to the seventh century A.D.; cf. David Whitehouse and Paul Arthur, "La ceramica dell'Italia meridionale: produzione e mercato tra V e X secolo", unpublished manuscript (May, 1982).

[281] Blake, "Medieval Pottery", (1978), p. 453, n. 53, has also noted that although African fine wares occured in contexts of the fifth/sixth centuries A.D. at Luni, the associated amphoras were from the eastern Mediterranean.

I. The Manufacture of the Painted Common Ware

The quantity of painted common ware excavated on the late site at San Giovanni indicates the existence in the area of southern Italy from the late fourth to at least the early sixth century A.D. of an increasingly successful pottery industry, which produced a painted common ware of a consistent and reasonably adequate technical level (Tables II, III and VIII show the increasing dominance of this ware).

In the late fourth century A.D. the industry produced a variety of small pots and jugs with an incised decoration of hand drawn zigzag or wavy lines, or horizontal lines with dependent spirals and a basic amphora form. The manufacturers had diversified by the middle of the fifth century A.D. to produce a wide variety of pieces for table service. Around this time, bowls and a range of serving forms of large size developed as their most characteristic and marketable product.

The fact that combing and wavy combing replaced the earlier incised decoration by the middle of the fifth century A.D. indicates that the potters were alive to the advantages of efficiency in commercial production, but they were willing to deal with a fairly high technical demand in the forms themselves. There was at least no immediate trend to the simplification of the flanged and spouted forms, and the evolution of the individual dinner bowl was in the direction of greater rather than lesser technical difficulty.

The ware takes over a greatly increased percentage of the pottery market at San Giovanni by the second half of the fifth century A.D. The analysis of the number of bowls in all wares in the important late contexts at San Giovanni (Table VII) shows that painted common ware had gained more than half of the local pottery market for bowls in the second half of the fifth century A.D. No doubt the conversion of the inhabitants at San Giovanni to the regional product was strongly stimulated by a break in the supply of fine ware bowls; but the painted common ware continued not only to hold its advantage, but to gain a much greater share of the market at a time when the trade in African fine wares was being reorganized.

The evidence from San Giovanni does not indicate an end date for the production of painted common ware. It is more common than coarse ware on the site in the second half of the fifth century A.D. (in Context 12*); makes up forty percent of all catalogued pottery in the destruction context of Period III (Context 13*); and 36% of that in topsoil (Context 14).

Its dominance of the market indicates that a demand had been met. In economic terms, the product had some very attractive combination of desirability, affordability, or availability. While the ware was available during the short period in the mid fifth century when African wares were not, or had become prohibitively expensive, other factors must also have come into play. It may be that the bowl forms in the ware were seen as not only cheaper and more easily available than the African types, but also more serviceable. Another factor is the production in the ware of large serving vessels in a ware of technically higher quality than the previously available coarse ware.

J. Conclusions

The pottery horizons of the late San Giovanni site demonstrate a certain degree of cultural stability, economic creativity and energy, and even perhaps increasing prosperity for southern Italy during the fourth, fifth and early sixth centuries A.D.

After the introduction of the painted common ware at the end of the fourth century A.D., the general categories of wares represented and their relative dominance remain substantially comparable: that is, fine wares are a very small percentage of all pottery, painted common ware and coarse ware respectively make up very significant percentages of all pottery, and imported amphoras form a negligible percentage (see Table I).

While the percentage of African Red Slip fine wares imported to the site dropped sharply after the first quarter of the fifth century A.D., no doubt because the production and trade in these wares were temporarily disrupted by the Vandal invasion of North Africa in 429 A.D., and bowl forms and production centers had clearly changed by the second half of the fifth century A.D., the imitative forms in the painted common ware of the second half of the fifth century demonstrate that the African wares were still the major fashion influence in pottery.

In the second quarter of the fifth century, examples of Phocaean Red Slip appeared on the site. Examples of the ware at San Giovanni during this period of time were clearly technically inferior to the African wares which had enjoyed a long and secure vogue in southern Italy, and the most reasonable interpretation is that the Phocaean Red Slip was marketed to fill the place temporarily vacated by the African Red Slip wares.

The importation of Phocaean Red Slip to the site emphasizes the fact that it cannot simply be dismissed as a cultural backwater. In fact, San Giovanni had access to the mainstream of the pottery commerce of its time, since consumption of imported fine ware bowls was regular enough that the disruption of the African supply registered at San Giovanni in the form of the immediate substitution of the Phocaean ware.

The contexts of the second half of the fifth century A.D. indicate that trade in African Red Slip wares resumed and that Phocaean Red Slip also continued to be available. Despite the availability of these wares, they were no longer acquired by the inhabitants of the site of Period III in anything like the numbers in which African Red Slip wares had been acquired in Period II. The material in the dated contexts at San Giovanni indicates that Phocaean Red Slip may never have gained a real hold on the regional market; however, it continued to appear on the site in small quantities in Period III, and two pieces from the early sixth seem later than the latest examples of African Red Slip from the site.

The dropping percentage of fine wares means that imported wares were becoming less available, less affordable, or less desirable over this interval. The possibility that the African wares had become less desirable is directly contradicted by the bowls in the painted common ware which imitated the contemporary African forms. The African wares were clearly not absolutely unavailable, since a certain number of pieces were acquired. The explanation must be that the inhabitants of the Period III site had different views on the allocation of expenditures than those in Periods I and II. This need not imply that the inhabitants of Period III were poorer than those of Periods I and II; in fact, there is evidence that they were not.

By the middle of the fifth century A.D., the regional industry producing painted common ware had become established and was evidently able to supply pottery at a cheaper price than the imported wares; cheap enough to offset the fact that the new pottery was significantly less elegant. On the other hand, the painted common ware was serviceable and evidently adequate to the requirements of the inhabitants of the site in Period III, who generally preferred to use it rather than continue to pay the price of the imported wares.

The existence of the industry which produced the painted common ware has far-reaching implications. It implies a level of local agricultural prosperity high enough to create a viable market, entrepreneurs willing and able to supply a demand for ceramic vessels, and some kind of distribution system to centers of consumption.[282] Such an industry could not have risen and prospered except in a situation of local political stability and some degree of economic prosperity.

The dominance of the locally-produced painted common ware also provides evidence that during the periods of the late site, San Giovanni lay in an area that can be described as becoming 'provincial' in the sense that it became increasingly reliant on its own characteristic products and that it was comfortably content with its own lower standards for those products. Psychological acceptance of the historical fact of the administrative separation of southern Italy from North Africa may have speeded acceptance of and dependence on the locally produced pottery.

Aside from the tendency to increasing regional economic autonomy, and with it, to lower technical and aesthetic standards, the evidence of the pottery at San Giovanni indicates a basic cultural continuity in southern Italy from the late fourth to the early sixth century A.D., and it strongly indicates that the economic base of south Italian society was solid and unthreatened.

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[282] Cf. Blake, "Medieval Pottery", (1978), p. 439.

	Late Fine Wares		Painted Common Ware		Coarse Wares		Other Wares		Totals	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
Sherd Counts	24	1	1482	46	1679	53	28	1	3161	[101]
Weight in Kilograms	.70	1	39.52	62	23.48	37	.51	1	64.13	[101]
Catalogued Pieces	9	7	58	44	60	46	4	3	131	100
Percentage Average	3		51		45		2		[101]	

Table I. Comparison of Number of Sherds, Weight and Number of Catalogued Examples as a Basis for the Relative Proportions of Various Wares; Midden IV (Context 12*) (Layers 124 and 157 only)

	Contexts																
	C1 P2O	C2 P1YF	C3* P1YD	C4 P2R	C5* P2MAL	C6* P2MAT	C7 P1D	C8 P3BF	C9 P3BF	C10 P3O	C11 P3O	C12* P3MB	MII (NS)	MIII (NS)	C13* P3D	C14 TO	
Residual Wares																	
BG			2	1			3	2	1			1	1				11
HG								1	1								2
ITS		1	1			1	7	29	3			1				2	47
TW	1		1	1		1	2	12	3		2		2				25
ESB2							1	1									2
ARS(I/II)					2	1	3	9					3	1	4		23
PR		1					1	3							2		7
Total	1	2	4	2	2	3	17	57	8		2	2	6	1	6	2	115
Undated Coarse and Plain Wares																	
CW	10	5	50	4	27	36	30	102	34	14	15	80	16	32	48	38	541
COB		1	13		4	6	7	1	1	2		5			3	1	44
PL			4	2	5	6	9	17	6	1	1	1	4	4	7	1	68
Total	10	6	67	6	36	48	46	120	41	17	16	86	20	36	58	40	653
Late Wares (IV-VI)																	
ARS	1	1	11	1	20	24	3	8	6		1	10	8		6	5	105
PRS						6	1	6				1	5	2	2	1	24
PCWI			3		7	3			1					1		1	16
PCW			5	2	13	34	9	12	40	3	1	83	2	27	51	29	311
RA		1	1		2	6	1	1		1						5	18
GA									2			1		1	3		7
Total	1	2	20	3	42	73	14	27	49	4	2	95	15	31	62	41	481
Total Number of Catalogued Pieces																	
	12	10	91	11	80	124	77	204	98	21	20	183	41	68	126	83	1249

Table II. Catalogued Pieces in Stratified Late Contexts

	Contexts																
	C1 P20	C2 P1YF	C3* P1YD	C4 P2R	C5* P2MAL	C6* P2MAT	C7 P1D	C8 P3BF	C9 B3BF	C10 P30	C11 P30	C12* P3MB	MII (NS)	MIII (NS)	C13* P3D	C14 TO	
Residual Wares	1/12	2/10	4/91	2/11	2/80	3/124	17/77	57/204	8/98	0/21	2/20	2/183	6/41	1/68	6/126	2/83	115/1249
	8	20	4	18	3	2	22	28	8	0	10	1	.15	1	5	2	9
Undated Coarse and Plain Ware	10/12	6/10	67/91	6/11	36/80	48/124	46/77	120/204	41/98	17/21	16/20	86/183	20/41	36/68	58/126	40/83	653/1249
	83	.60	.74	55	.45	.39	60	59	42	81	80	47	50	53	46	52	52
Late African Red Slip	1/12	1/10	11/91	1/11	20/80	24/124	3/77	8/204	6/98	0/21	1/20	10/183	8/41	0/68	6/126	5/83	113/1249
	8	10	12	9	25	19	4	4	6	0	5	5	20	0	5	6	9
Phocaean Red Slip	0/12	0/10	0/91	0/11	0/80	6/124	1/77	6/204	0/98	0/21	0/20	1/183	5/41	2/68	2/126	1/83	24/1249
	0	0	0	0	0	5	1	3	0	0	0	1	12	3	2	1	2
Painted Common Ware	0/12	0/10	8/91	2/11	20/80	37/124	9/77	12/204	41/98	3/21	1/20	83/183	2/41	28/68	51/126	30/83	327/1249
	0	0	9	18	25	30	12	6	42	14	5	.45	5	41	40	36	26
All Dated Late Ware	1/12	2/10	20/91	3/11	42/80	73/124	14/77	27/204	49/98	4/21	2/20	95/183	15/41	31/68	62/126	41/83	481/1249
	8	.20	.22	27	53	59	.18	.13	50	19	.10	52	37	.46	49	49	39

Table III. Ratios and Percentages of Catalogued Examples of Selected Wares in Stratified Contexts

Form	Contexts																
	C1 P20	C2 P1YF	C3* P1YD	C4 P2R	C5* P2MAL	C6* P2MAT	C7 P1D	C8 P3BF	C9 P3BF	C10 P30	C11 P30	C12* P3MB	MII (NS)	MIII (NS)	C13* P3D	C14 TO	Totals
50 B, F1	1	2	1				1	1							1		7
50 B, F4			1														1
50 B, F3			1					2					1				4
52 B			1														1
61 A, F2			1		1	2											3
61 B, F2			2		1	3									1		7
61 B, F3			1		9	5		1								1	17
Stamp A(i)			1								1						2
Stamp A (ii/iii)			1	1	2	3			1								8
64			1			1											2
50 B or 80 B					2	1	3	2					1		1		10
Odd Bowl					1												1
Pilgrim Flask					1												1
53 B					3	4	1	1	1				1				11
58 Variant						2									1		3
87 C						1		1	1			2					5
97						1							1				2
62 B							1										1
91 B							1										1
76								1	1								2
'91 D'									1								1
99 B												6			2		8
12/102												1					1

Table IV . Late African Red Slip Forms Sequenced by the Earliest Stratigraphic Context in Which They Appear (cont.-)

	Contexts																
Form	C1 P20	C2 P1YF	C3* P1YD	C4 P2R	C5* P2MAL	C6* P2MAT	C7 P1D	C8 P3FZ3	C9 P3FZ2	C10 P3OZ2	C11 P3OZ3	C12* P3MB	MII (NS)	MIII (NS)	C13* P3D	C14 TO	
84													1				1
Wide Bowl													3				3
91 C															1	1	2
96																1	1
Totals	1	2	11	1	20	23	7	9	5	0	1	9	8	0	7	3	106

Table IV. (-cont.) Late African Red Slip Forms Sequenced by the Earliest Stratigraphic Context in Which They Appear

	Contexts																
Form	C1 P20	C2 P1YF	C3* P1YD	C4 P2R	C5* P2MAL	C6* P2MAT	C7 P1D	C8 P3FZ3	C9 P3FZ2	C10 P3OZ2	C11 P3OZ3	C12* P3MB	MII (NS)	MIII (NS)	C13* P3D	C14 TO	
SG Rim T1						4	1	6					1			1	13
Early Base						1											1
SG Rim T2													2	1			3
SG Rim T3												1					1
Base						1							2		1		4
SG Rim T4													1		1		2
Stamp													2	1			3
Totals						6	1	6				1	8	2	2	1	27

Table V. Phocaean Red Slip in Stratified Contexts

	Contexts														
Form	C1 P20	C2 P1YF	C3* P1YD	C4 P2R	C5* P2MAL	C6* P2MAT	C7 P1D	C8 P3FZ3	C9 P3FZ2	C10 P30Z2	C11 P30Z3	C12* P3MB	C13* P3D	C14 TO	
1			1	1	3	9			8			12	6	1	31
21			1		1	2			3			2		1	10
61			1		1	1						1	1		5
62			1												1
63			2		1	1	1								5
2					2		2		3			6	1	4	18
3					2	1									3
8					1		1								2
21 Variant					1										1
41					1										1
64					1										1
4						2						1		2	5
6						1						4	1		6
22						1						1	1		3
28 (73 A)						1									1
29 (61 B/87)						2									2
42						7			6			7	6	2	28
42 Variant						1	1					2	1	2	7
43						1		3	5	1		12	8	7	37
44						1								1	2
45						3		1				3	1	1	9
67						1									1
5							1					1			2
10								1							1
11								1							1
23								1				1	2		4
49								1							1
65								2					1		3

Table VI. Painted Common Ware Forms Sequenced by the Earliest Stratigraphic Context in Which They Appear (cont.-)

	Contexts														
Form	C1 P2O	C2 P1YF	C3* P1YD	C4 P2R	C5* P2MAL	C6* P2MAT	C7 P1D	C8 P3FZ3	C9 P3FZ2	C10 P3OZ2	C11 P3OZ3	C12* P3MB	C13* P3D	C14 TO	Total
9				1				1							2
7									1			1			2
8									2			2			4
24									4			8	2	2	16
30 (PRS)									1						1
46									1						1
47									1			4	2		7
48									1						1
12												1	1		2
24 Variant												2			2
31 (96)												1			1
32 (97)												1			1
50												3			3
66												2	1	1	4
33 (82-86)													1		1
34 (93/94)													1		1
52													2	1	3
53													1		1
51 Variant														1	1
Total	0	0	6	2	14	35	6	11	36	1	0	79	40	26	246
Incised Lines			3		7	3			1					1	15
Stabbed Combing					2								1		3
Wavy Combing						6			9	1		18	10	6	50
Stick-Drawn Lines						1						3	1	1	6
Horizontal Striations												10	1	1	12

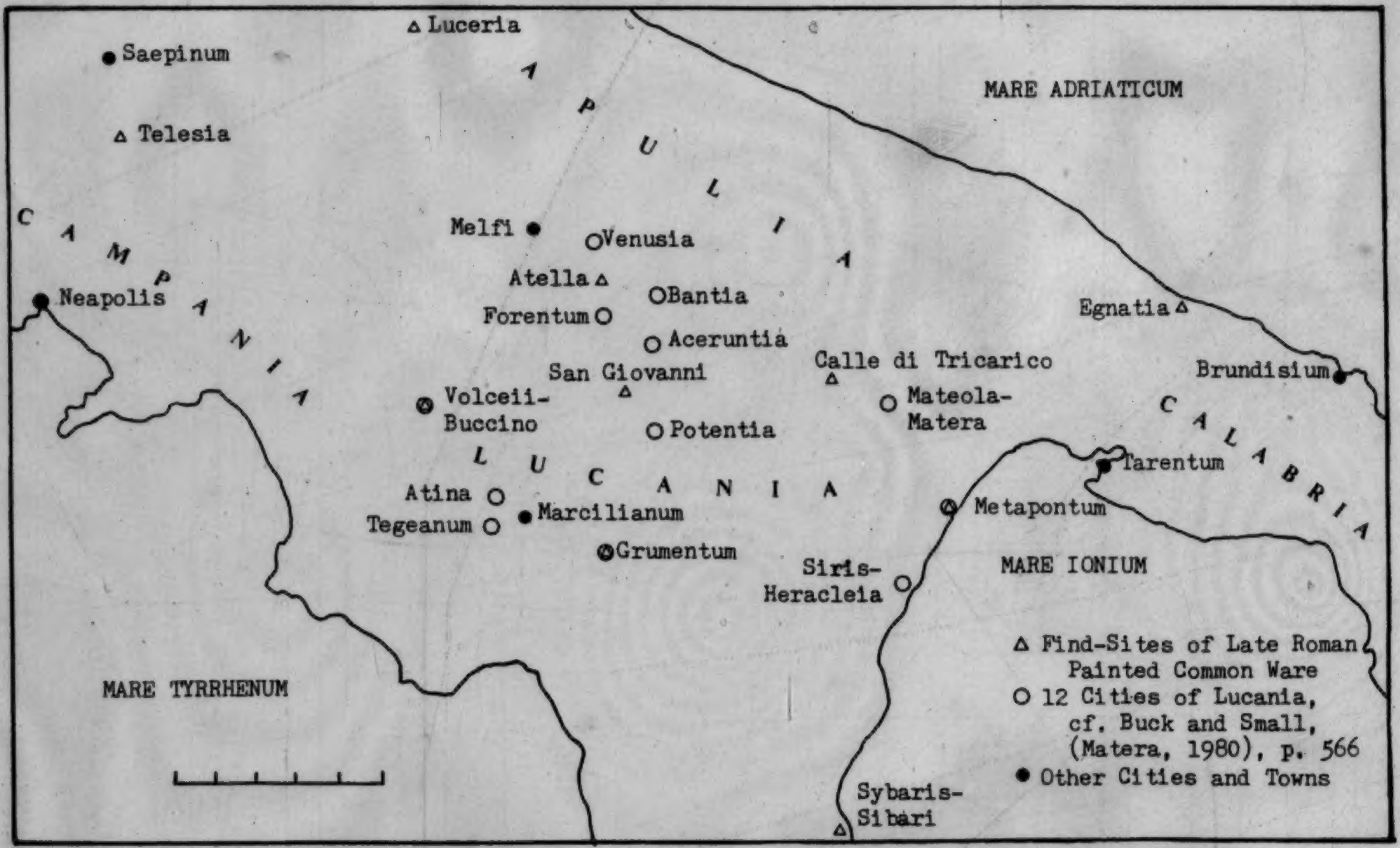
Table VI. Painted Common Ware Forms Sequenced by the Earliest Stratigraphic Context in Which They Appear (-cont.)

Fine Ware Form	Date of Type	Upper Midden I (C6*) /c. 425-460	Midden II (NS) 350-530	Midden III (NS) 450-500	Midden IV (C 12*) /c. 460-530/
ARS 50 B	2nd ½ IV		1		
ARS 61 A	3rd ¼ IV	1			
ARS 50 B or 80 B	3rd ¼ IV	1	1		
ARS 53 B	370-430	4	1		
ARS 61 B, F2	380-425	3			
ARS 61 B, F3	380-425	5			
Type A(ii/iii) Stamp	380-425	5			
ARS 64	2nd ½ IV-425	1			
ARS 58 Variant	1st ¼ V	2			1
PRS SG Rim Type 1	430-460	6	1		
ARS 87 C	2nd ½ V	1			1
PRS SG Rim Type 2	2nd ½ V		1	1	
PRS Stamps	2nd ½ V		1	1	
ARS 84	3rd ¼ V		1		
Wide Shallow Bowl	2nd ½ V		3		
ARS 97	2nd ½ V		1		
ARS 99	2nd ½ V		1		6
ARS 12/102	2nd ½ V		1		
PRS SG Rim Type 3	2nd ½ V				1
PRS SG Rim Type 4	1st ½ VI		1		
Total Examples:		29	14	2	9

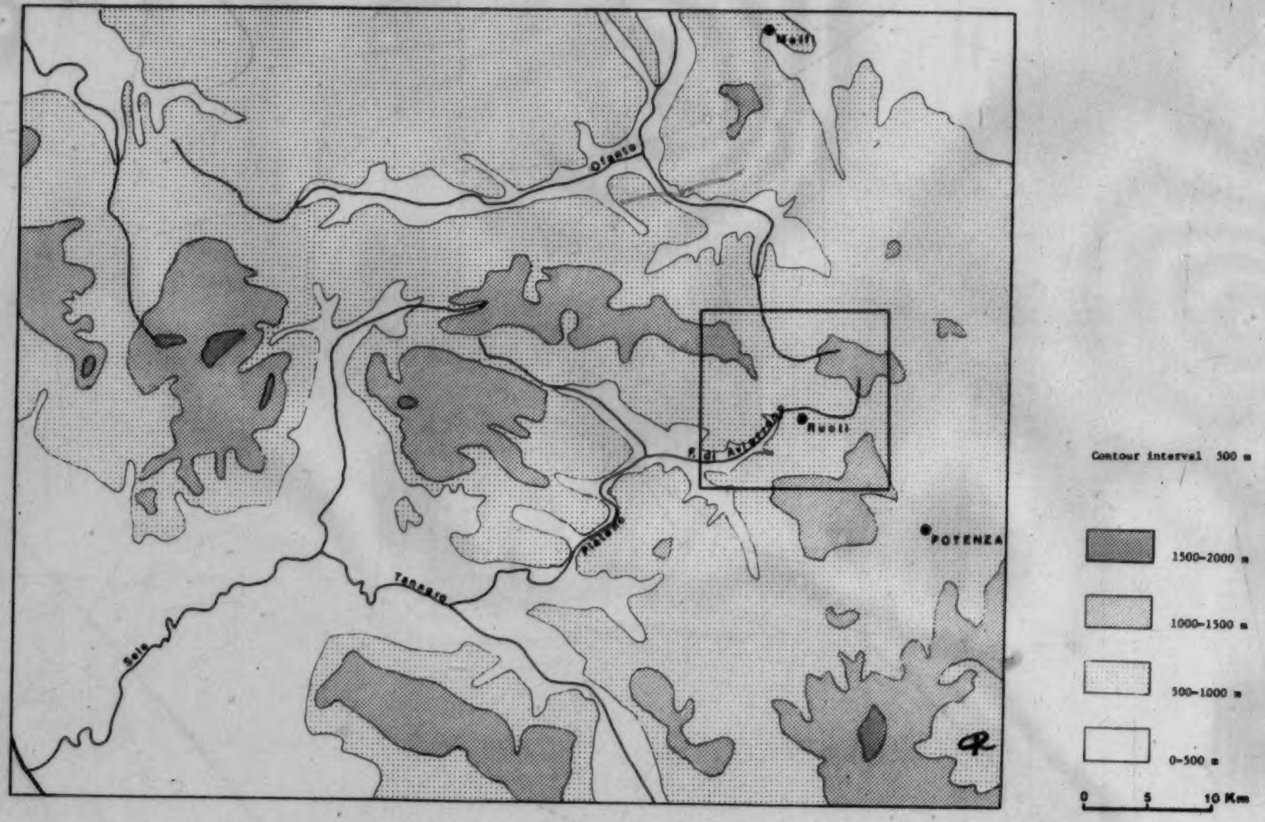
Table VII. Dated Fine Wares in Four Midden Contexts

	Context 3* (P1YD) c. 375/	Context 5* (P2MAL) /c. 375-425/	Context 6* (P2MAT) /c. 425-460/	Context 12* (P3MB) /c. 460-530/	Totals
Coarse Ware Bowl, Burnished Interior	11	3	4		18
African Red Slip	7	17	15	7	46
Painted Common Ware		3	5	17	25
Phocaean Red Slip			4	1	5
Other Coarse and Plain Ware Bowls	1	3	4	2	10
Totals	19	26	32	27	104

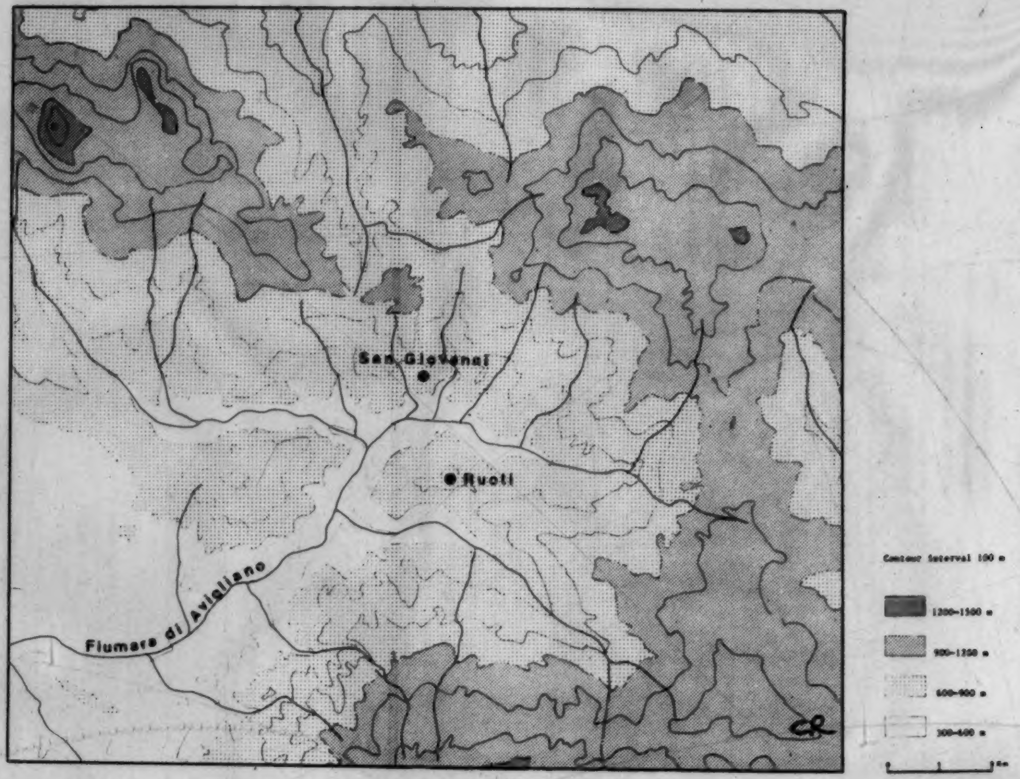
Table VIII. Rims of Individual Bowls Catalogued in Four Important Occupation Contexts


Luceria
Saepinum
Telesia
APULIA
MARE ADRIATICUM
CAMPANIA
Neapolis
Melfi
Venusia
Atella
Bantia
Forentum
Aceruntia
Egnatia
San Giovanni
Calle di Tricarico
Brundisium
Volceii-
Buccino
Mateola-
Matera
Potentia
CALABRIA
Tarentum
LUCANIA
Atina
Tegeanum
Marcilianum
Grumentum
Metapontum
Siris-
Heracleia
MARE IONIUM
MARE TYRRHENUM
Sybaris-
Sibari
△ Find-Sites of Late Roman Painted Common Ware
○ 12 Cities of Lucania, cf. Buck and Small, (Matera, 1980), p. 566
● Other Cities and Towns

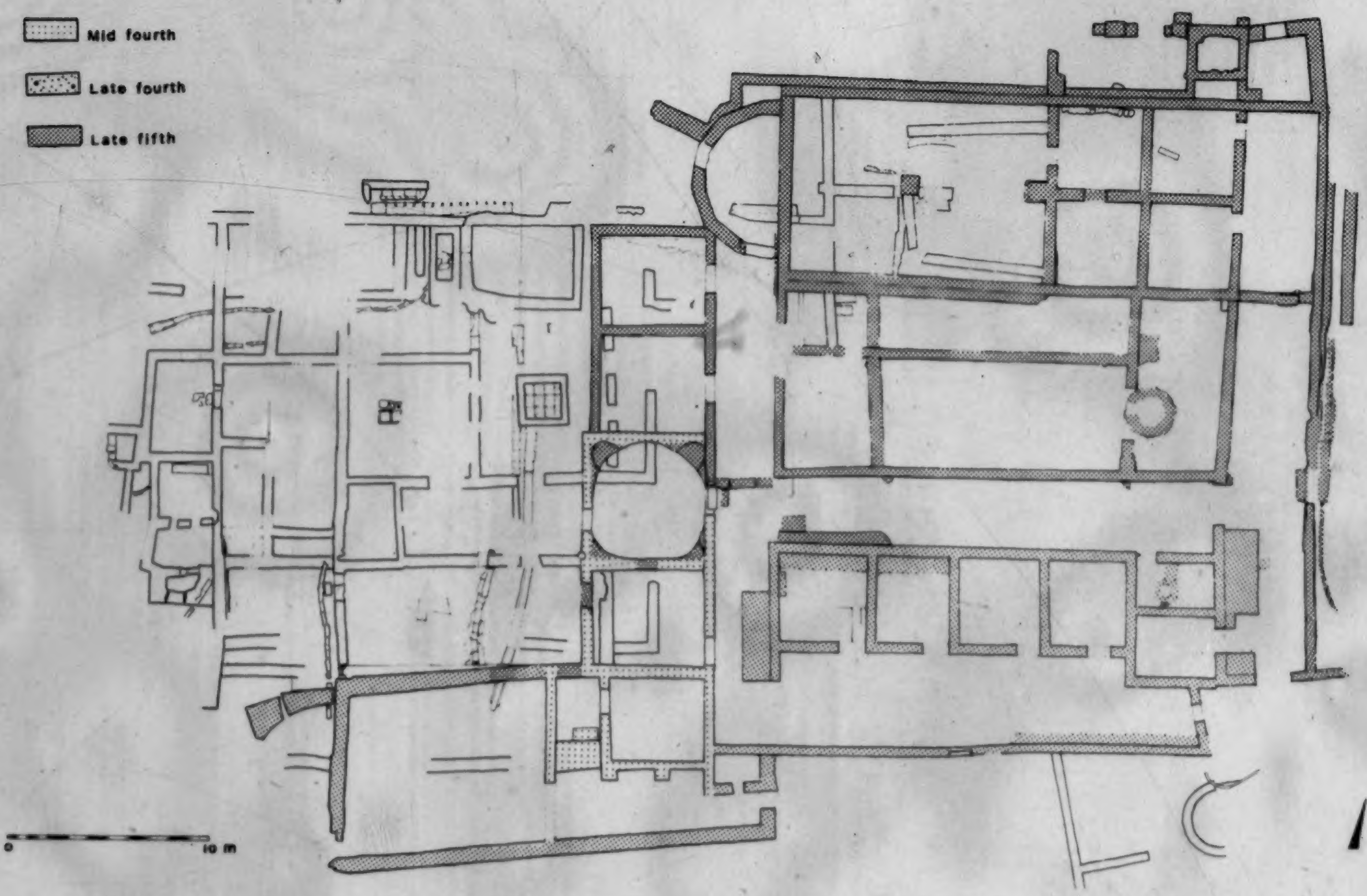
Map I. Southern Italy. Find-Sites of Painted Common Ware of the Late Fourth and Fifth Centuries A.D. Twelve Cities of Lucania


Melfi
Ofanto
Ruoti
F. di Avigliano
Platano
Tanagro
Sele
POTENZA
CR
Contour interval 300 m
1500-2000 m
1000-1500 m
500-1000 m
0-500 m
0
5
10 Km

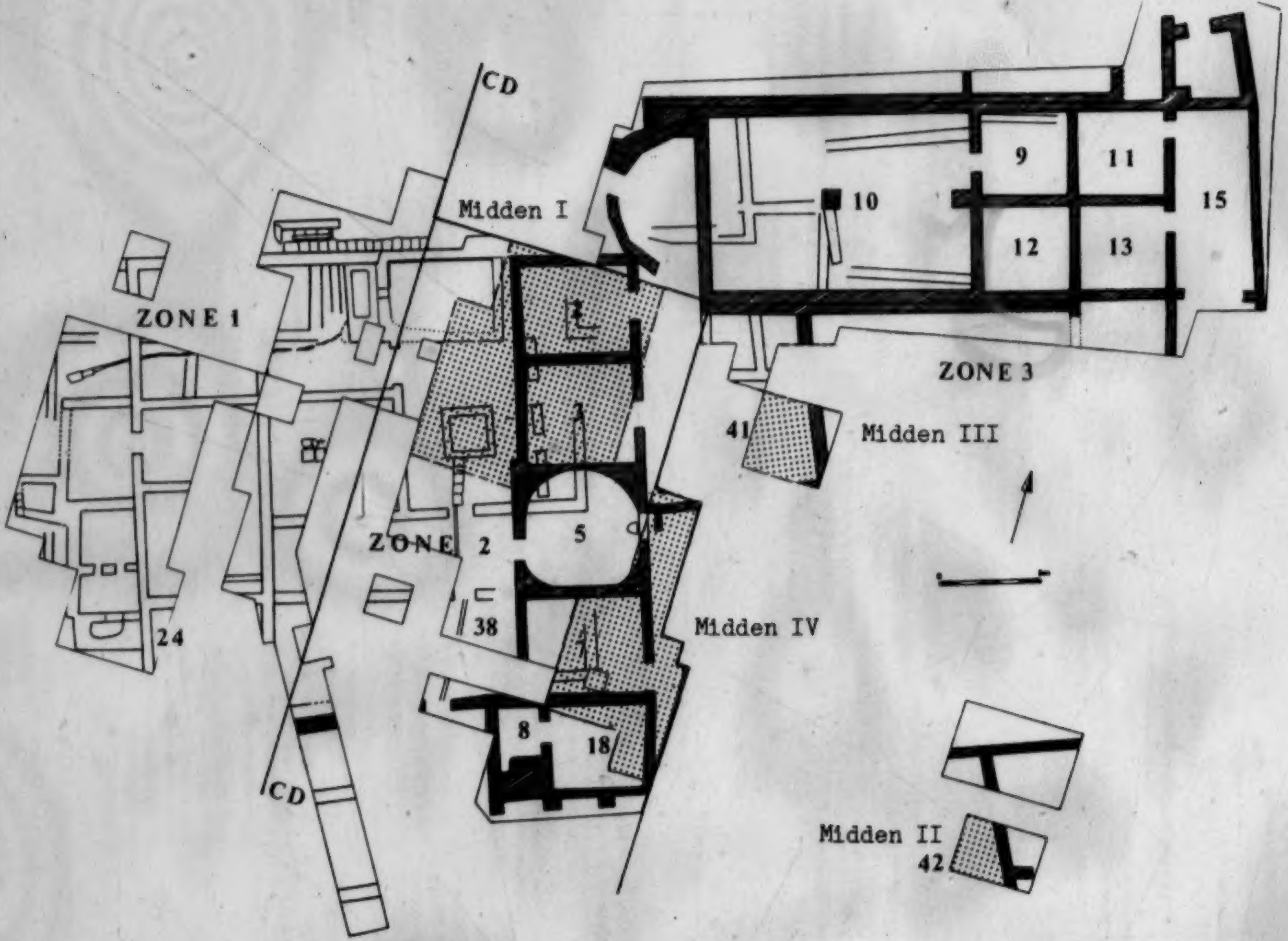
Map II. Topographical Map of Southern Italy. Map Drawn by Claude Roberto


San Giovanni
Ruoti
Fiumara di Avigliano
CR
Contour Interval 100 m
1200–1500 m
900–1200 m
600–900 m
300–600 m
km

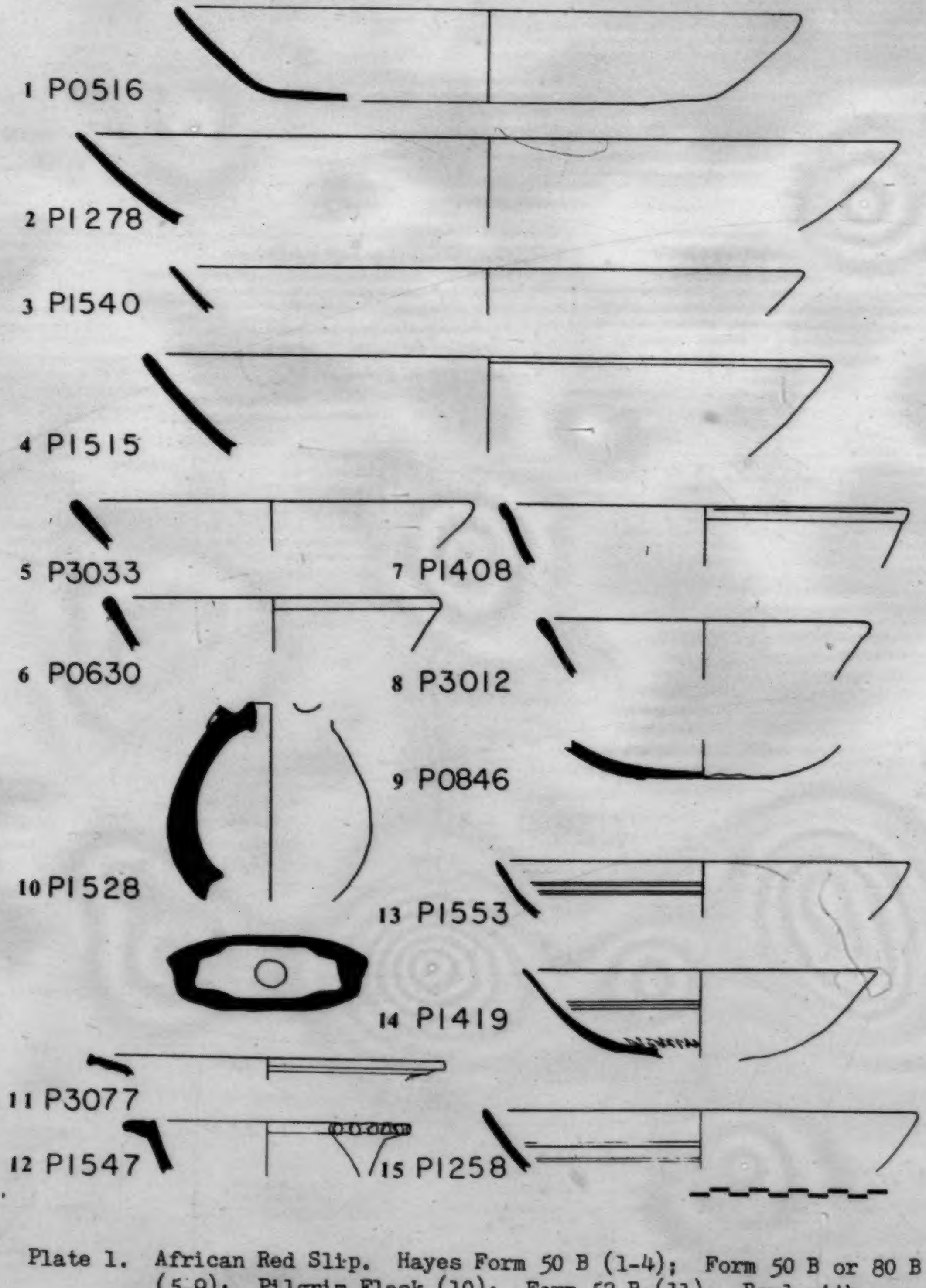
Map III. Detail. The Immediate Vicinity of San Giovanni di Ruoti. Map Drawn by Claude Roberto


Mid fourth
Late fourth
Late fifth
0
10 m

Map IV. The Excavation of San Giovanni di Ruoti, 1982. Late Periods I, II and III. Map Drawn by Eric Haldenby


CD
Midden I
ZONE 1
9
11
10
15
12
13
ZONE 3
41
Midden III
ZONE 2
5
38
24
Midden IV
8
18
CD
Midden II
42

Map V. The Excavation of San Giovanni di Ruoti, 1980. Zones 1, 2 and 3. Four Late Middens.
Map Drawn by R. J. Buck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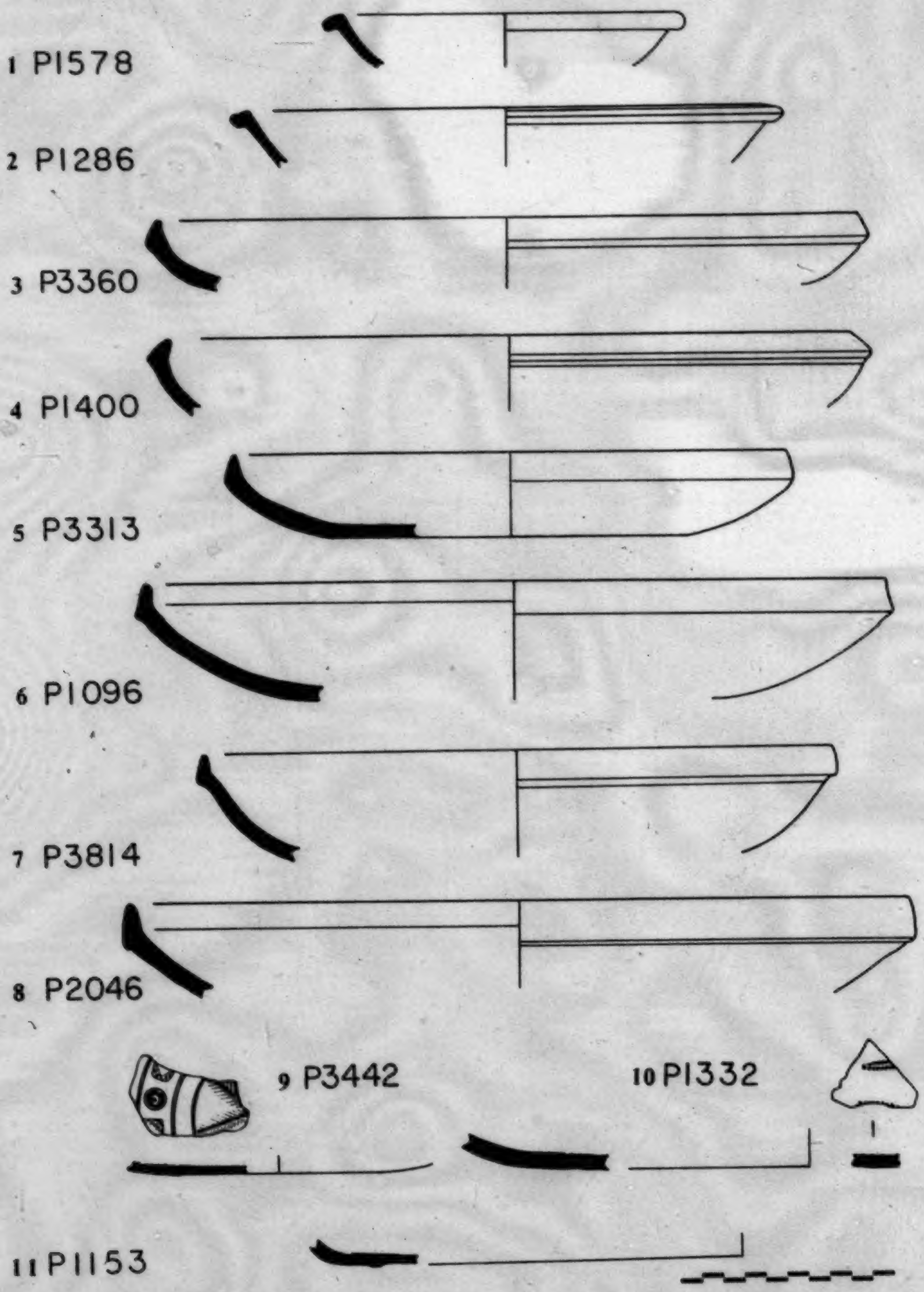
12 P1547
13 P1553
14 P1419
15 P1258

Plate 1. African Red Slip. Hayes Form 50 B (1-4); Form 50 B or 80 B (5-9); Pilgrim Flask (10); Form 52 B (11); Bowl with Horizontal Rim (12); Form 53 B (13-15)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11 P1153

Plate 2. African Red Slip. Hayes Form 58 Variant (1-2); Form 61 A (3-4); Form 61 B with Carinated Rim and Slightly Contracted Base (5-8); Type A Stamps (9-10); Form 62 B Base (11)

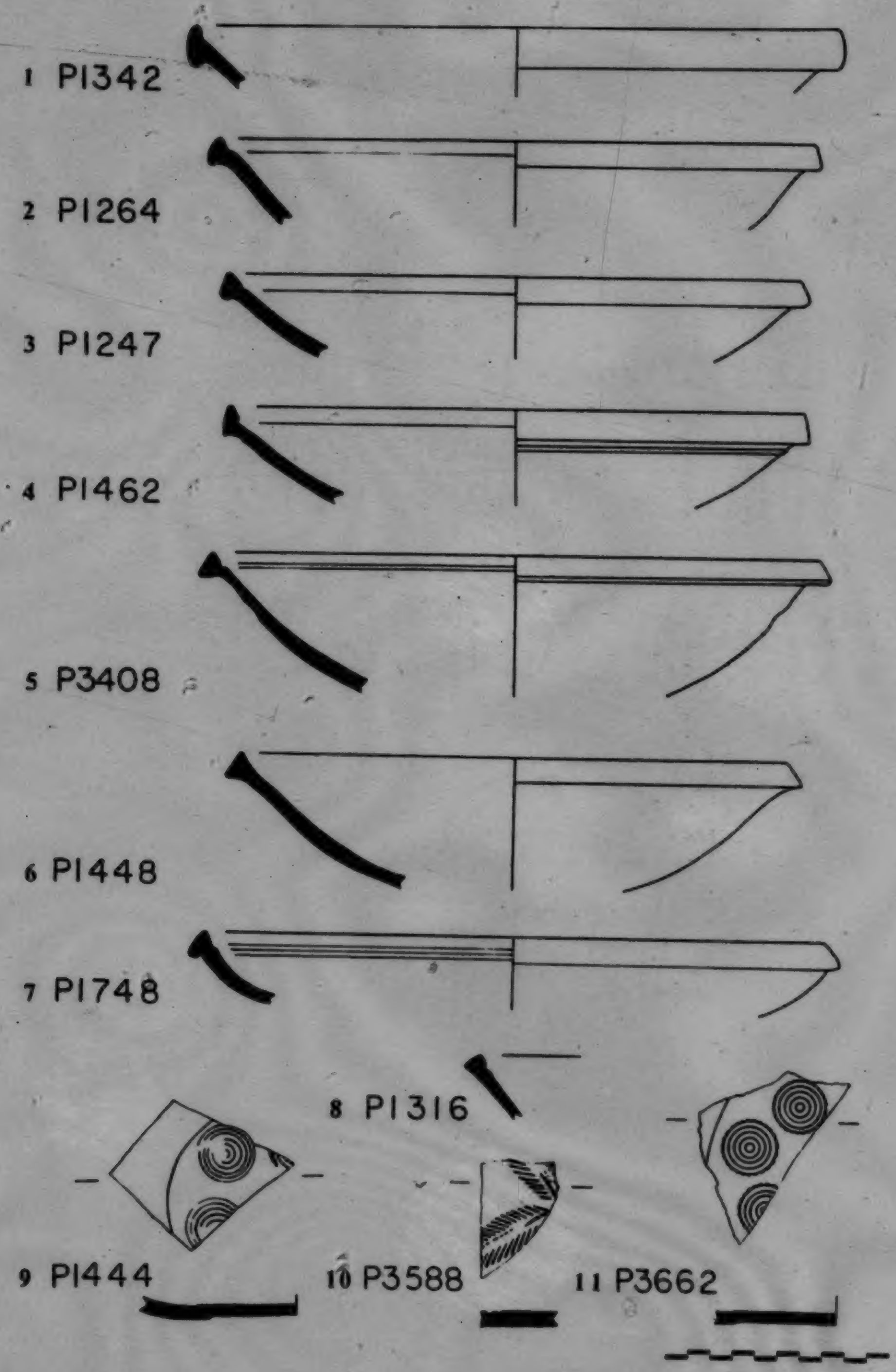
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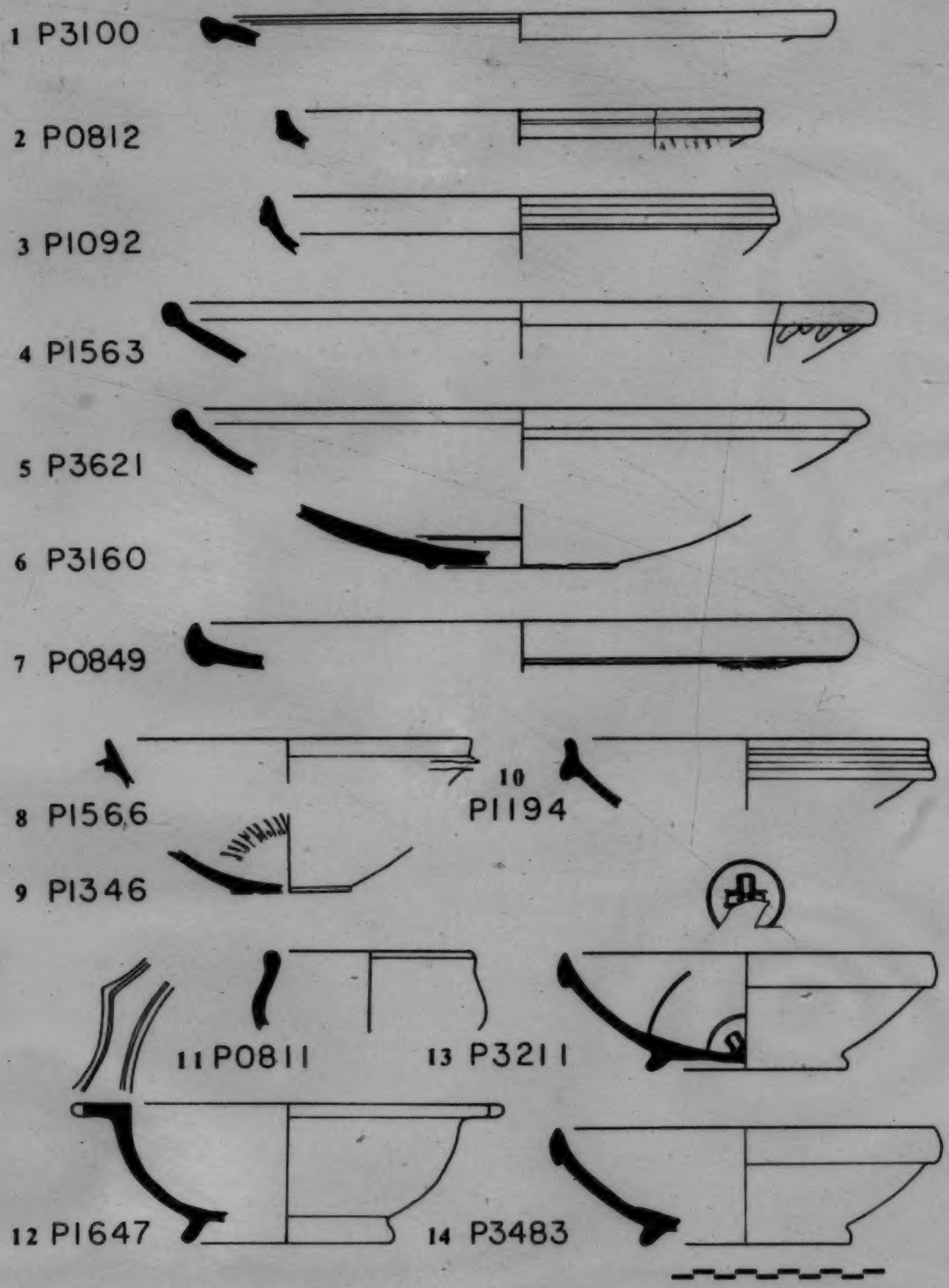
Plate 3. African Red Slip. Hayes Form 61 B with Knobbed Rim and Contracted Base (1-8); Associated Type A Stamps (9-11)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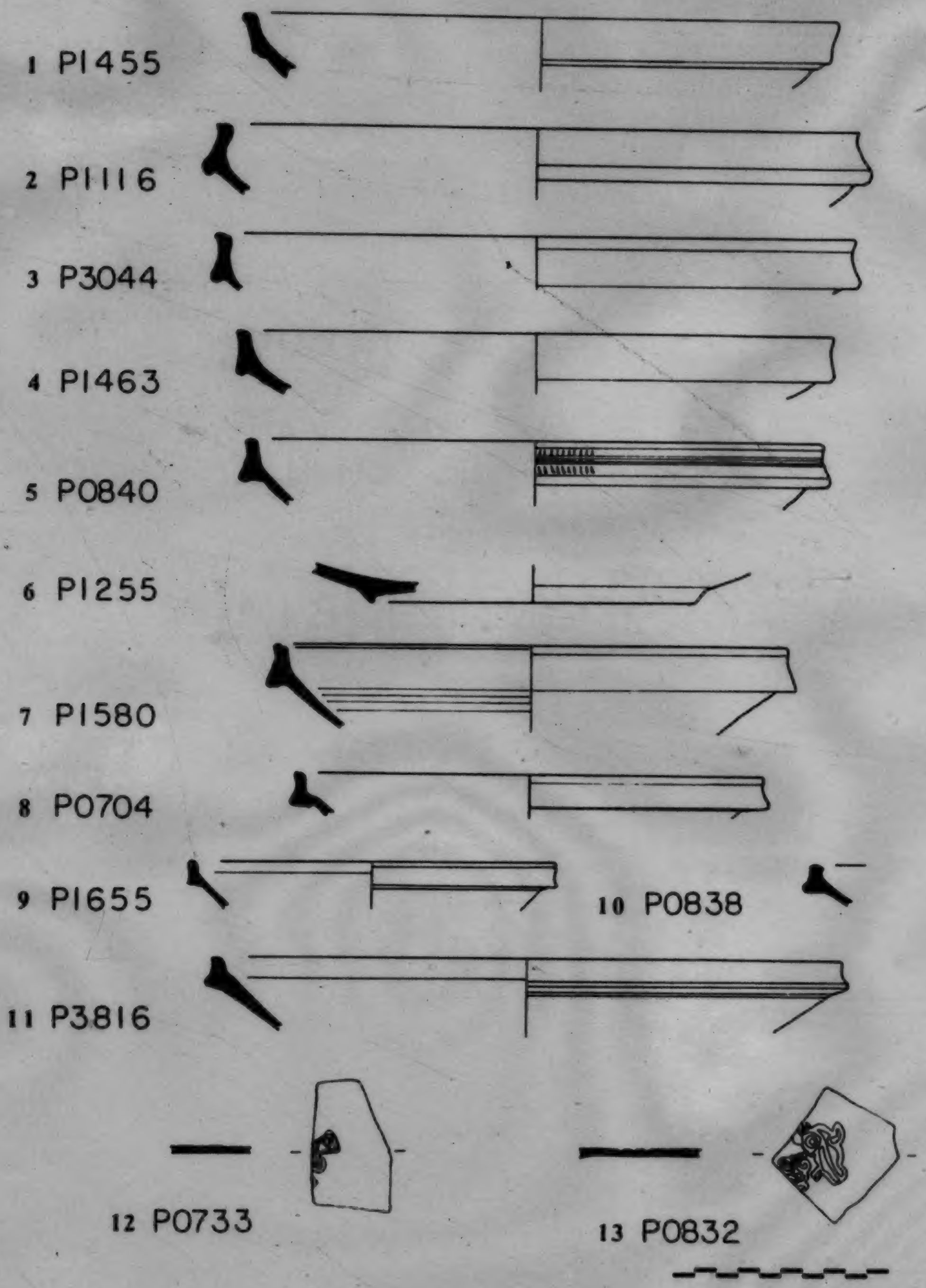
7 P0849
8 P1566
9 P1346
10 P1194
11 P0811
12 P1647
13 P3211
14 P3483

Plate 4. African Red Slip. Hayes Form 76 (1); Form 82 (2); Form 86 (3); Form 87 C (4-6); Wide Shallow Bowl with Rounded Vertical Rim (7); Form 91 C (8-9); Form 91 D Variant (10); Form 12/102 (11); Form 97 (12); Form 99 (13-14)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11 P3816
12 P0733
13 P0832

Plate 5. Phocaean Red Slip. SG Rim Type 1 (1-5); Early Base (6); Rim Type 2 (7-8); Type 3 (9), Type 4 (10-11); Stamps (12-13)

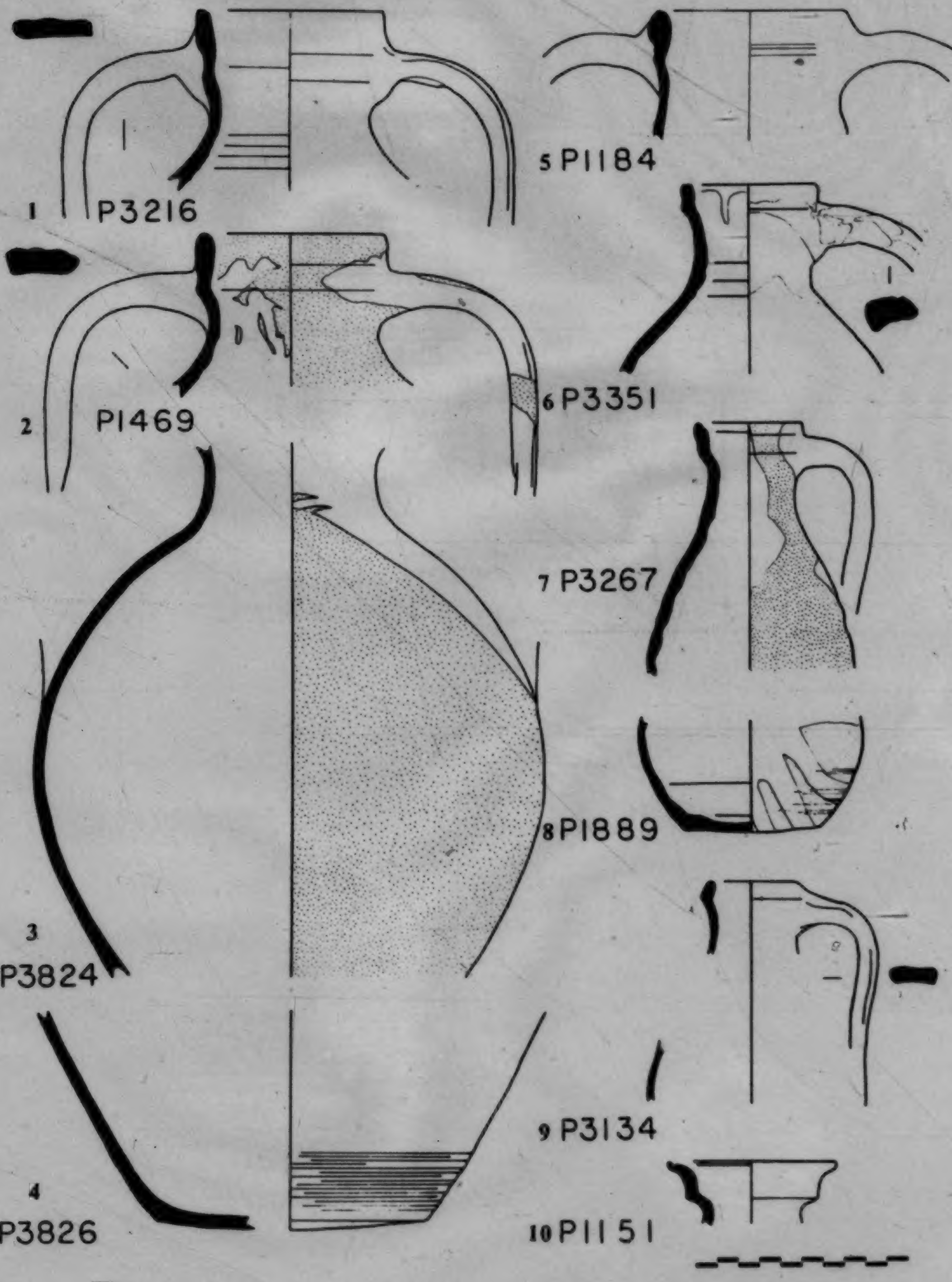
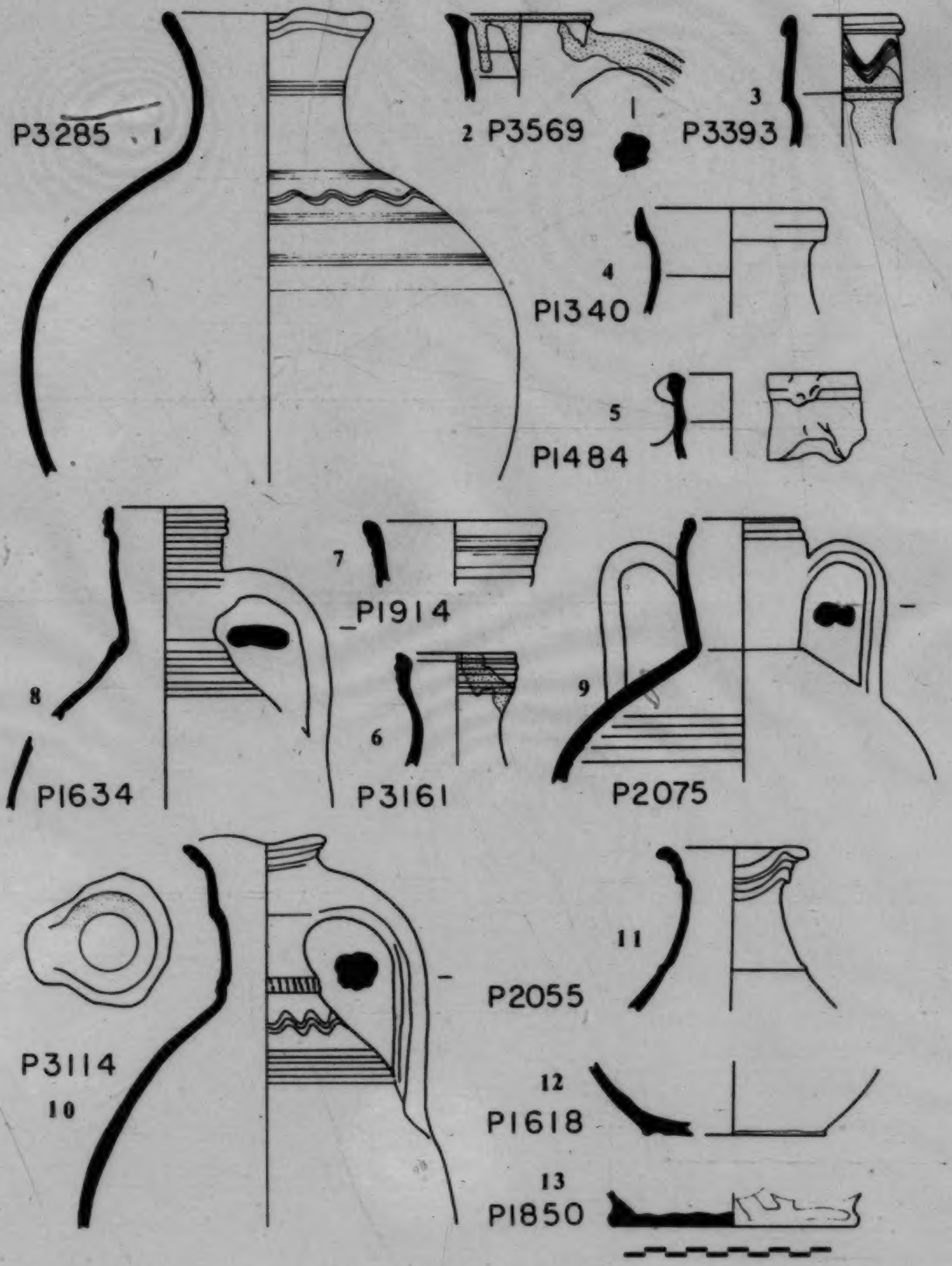

1 P3216
2 P1469
3 P3824
4 P3826
5 P1184
6 P3351
7 P3267
8 P1889
9 P3134
10 P1151

Plate 6. Painted Common Ware. SG Closed Form 1 (1-5); Form 2 (6-9); Form 3 (10)


P3285 1
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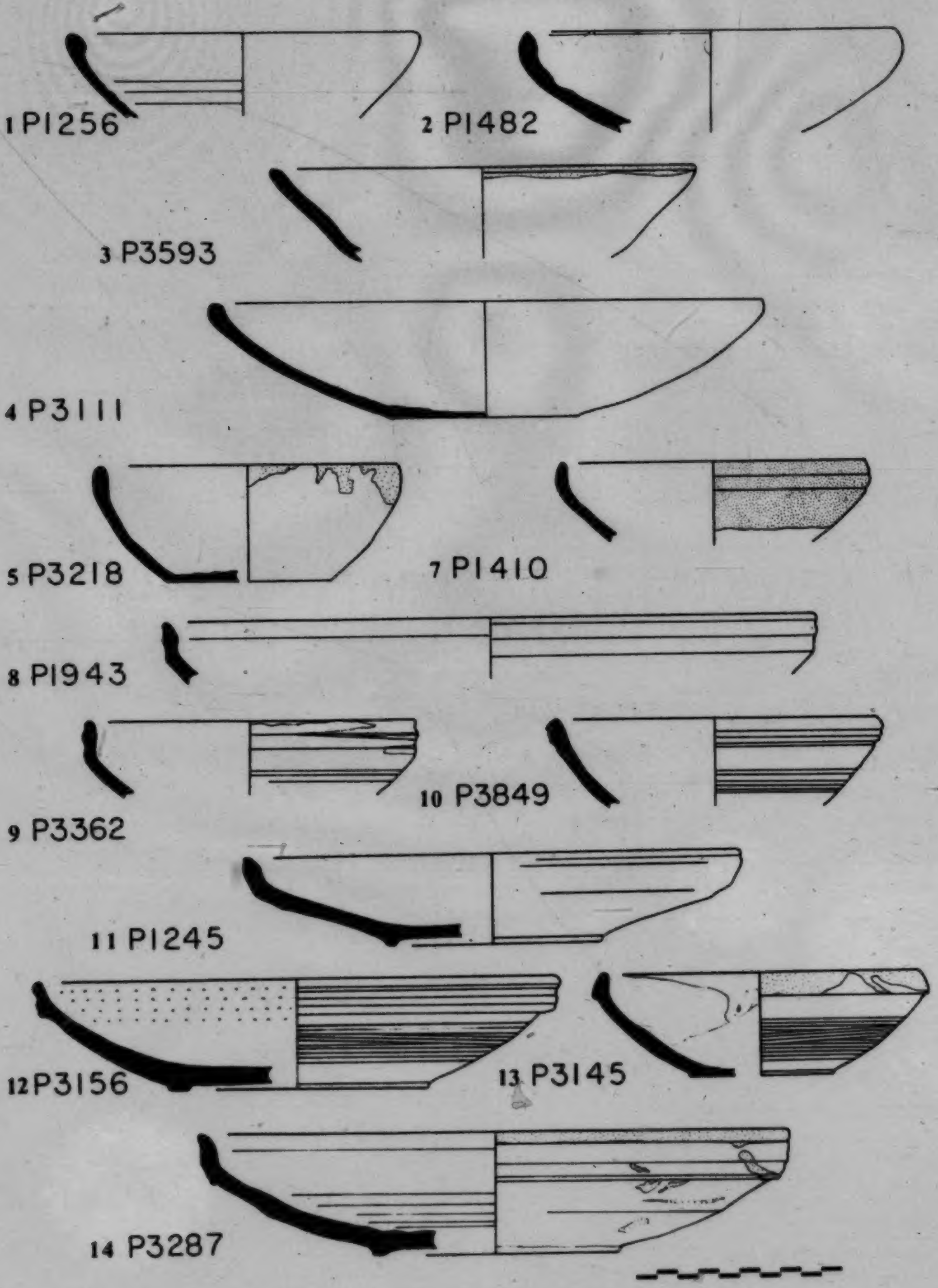
3 P3393
4 P1340
5 P1484
7 P1914
8 P1634
6 P3161
9 P2075
P3114 10
P2055
11
12 P1618
13 P1850

Plate 7. Painted Common Ware. SG Closed Form 4 (1); Form 5 (2); Form 6 (3-4); Form 7 (5); Form 8 (6); Form 9 (7); Form 10 (8); Form 11 (9); Form 12 (10-11); Miscellaneous Bases (12-13)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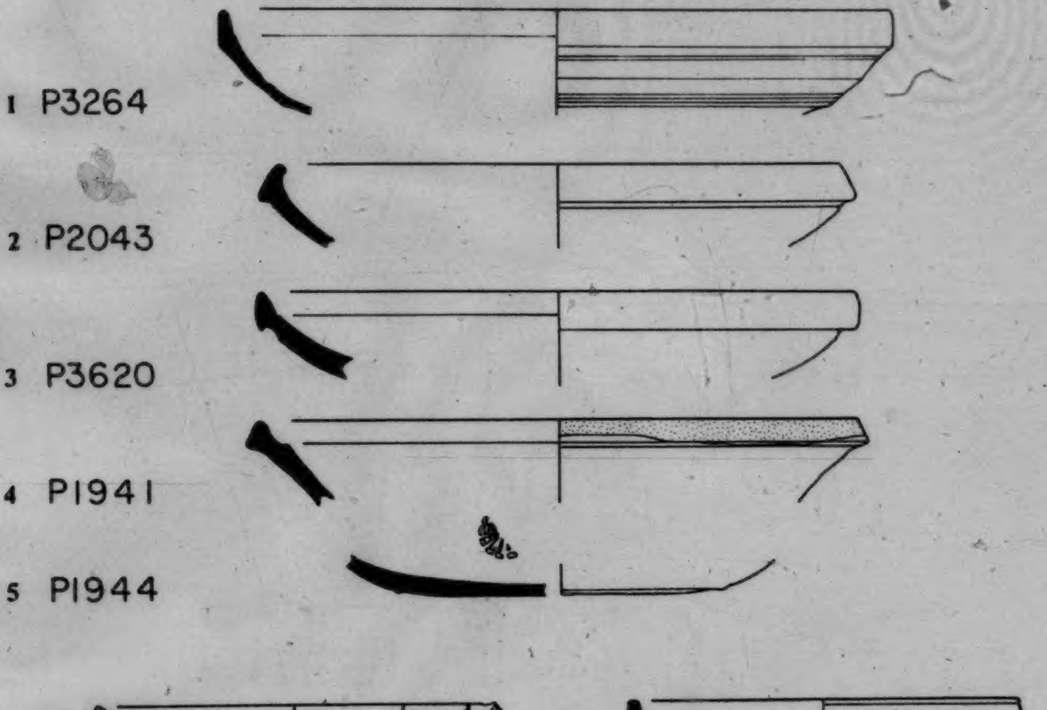
12 P3156
13 P3145
14 P3287

Plate 8. Painted Common Ware. SG Bowl Form 21 (1-5); Form 21 Variant (6); Form 22 (7-8); Form 23 (9); Form 24 (10-12); Form 24 Variant (13)


1 P3264
2 P2043
3 P3620
4 P1941
5 P1944
6 P1231
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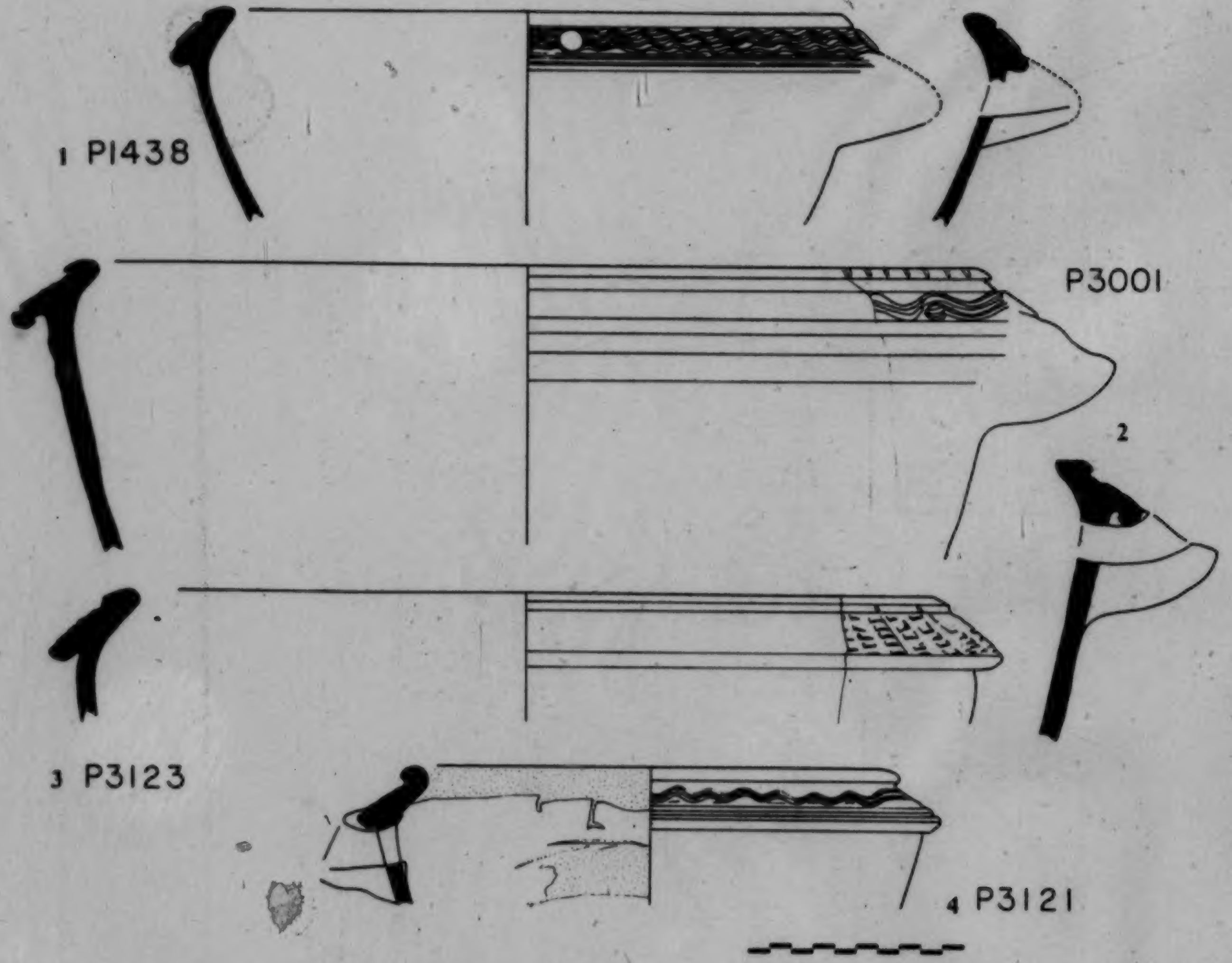
8 P1656
9 P3143
11 P1948

Plate 9. Painted Common Ware. SG Bowl Form 24 (1-3). SG Bowl Forms Imitating Fine Wares: Form 29 = ARS 61 B/87 (4-5); Form 28 = ARS 73 A (6); Form 30 = PRS 3 C (7); Form 31 = ARS 96 (8); Form 32 = ARS 97 (9); Form 33 = ARS 82/86 (10); Form 34 = ARS 93/94 (11)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3 P3123
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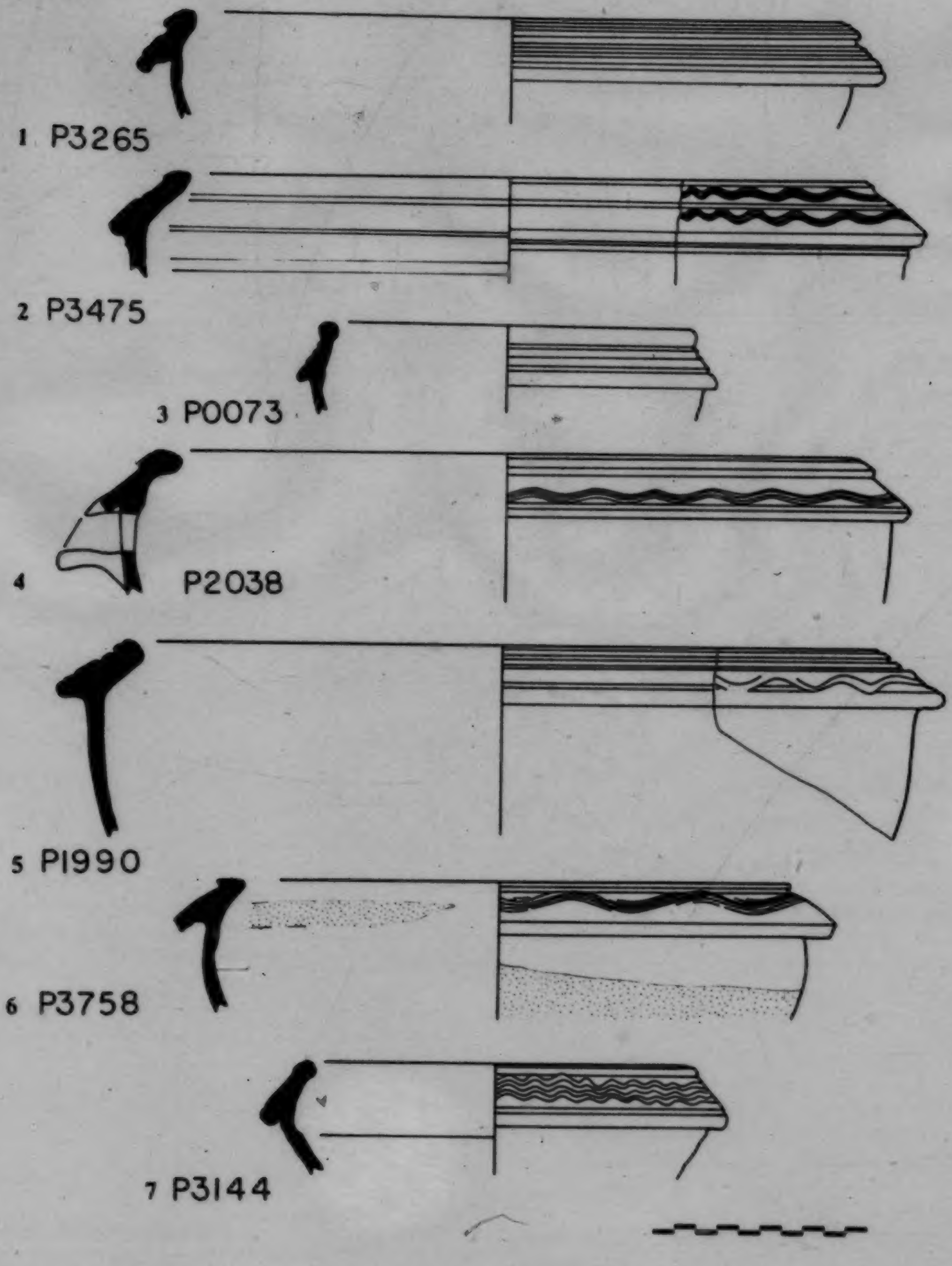
Plate 10. Painted Common Ware. SG Form 42, Flanged Spouted Bowl (1-4)


1 P3265
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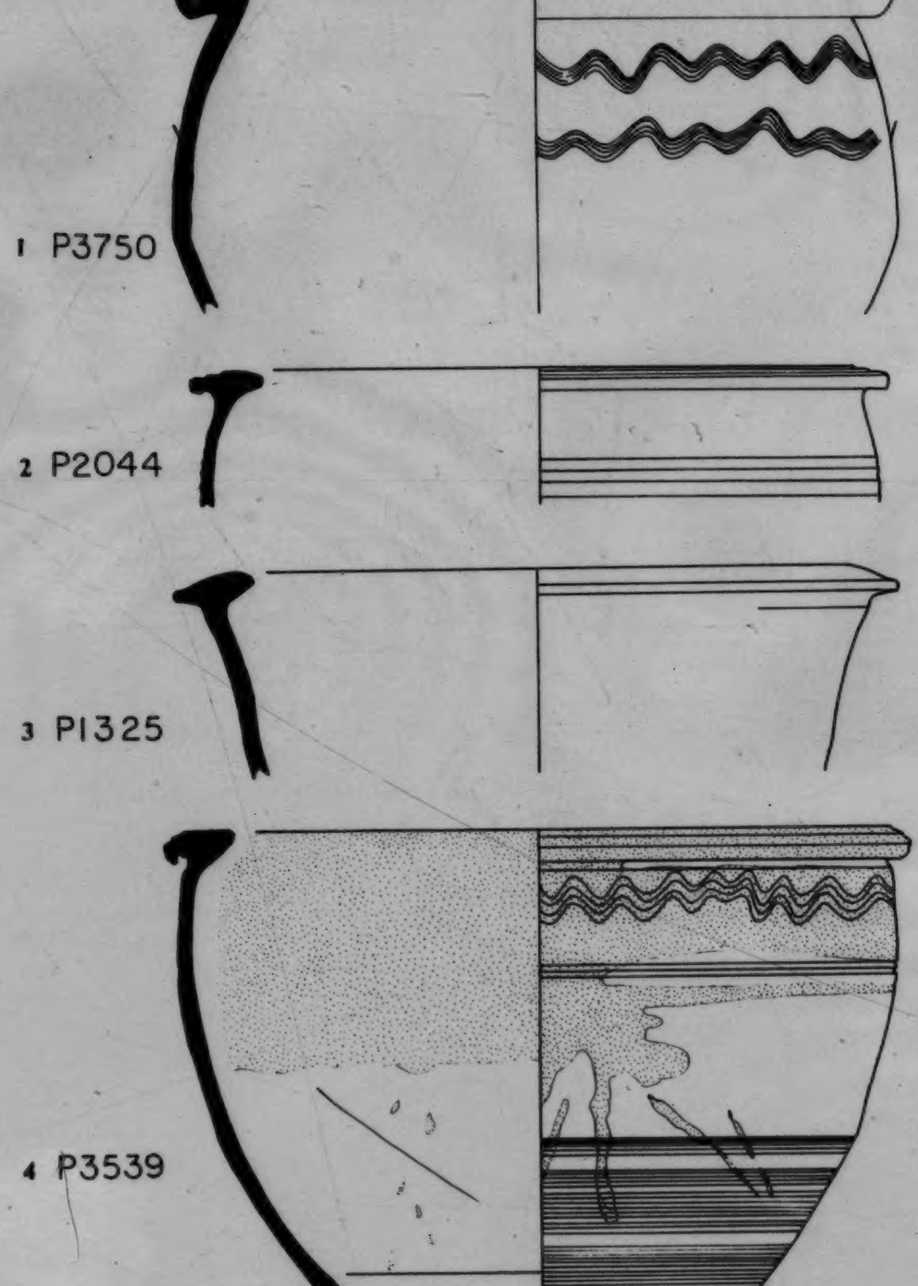
3 P0073
4 P2038
5 P1990
6 P3758
7 P3144

Plate 11. Painted Common Ware. SG Form 42, Flanged Spouted Bowl (1-7)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2 P2044
3 P1325
4 P3539

Plate 12. Painted Common Ware. SG Form 43, Wide-Mouthed Jar (1-4)

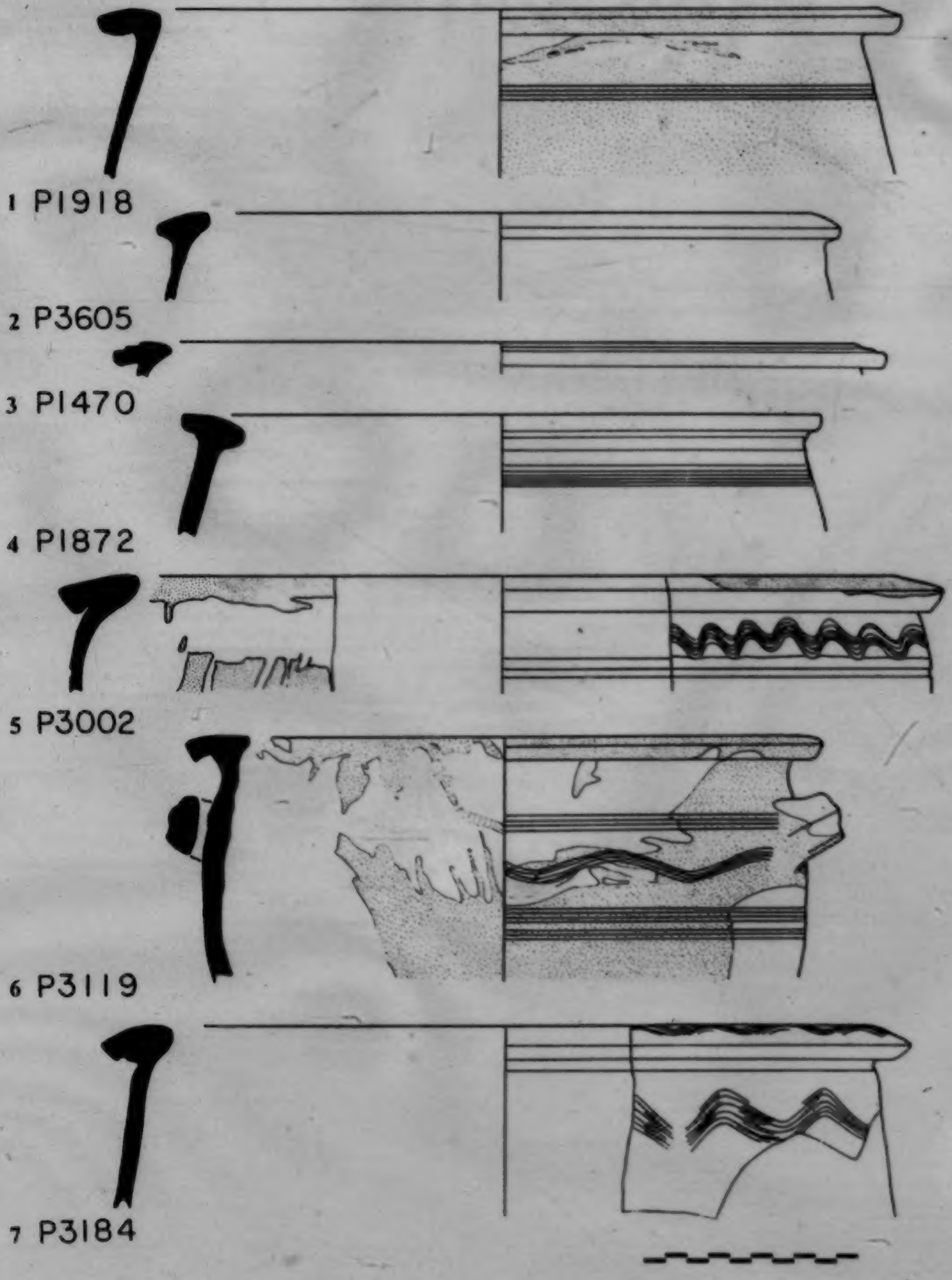

1 P1918
2 P3605
3 P1470
4 P1872
5 P3002
6 P3119
7 P3184

Plate 13. Painted Common Ware. SG Form 43, Wide-Mouthed Jar (1-7)

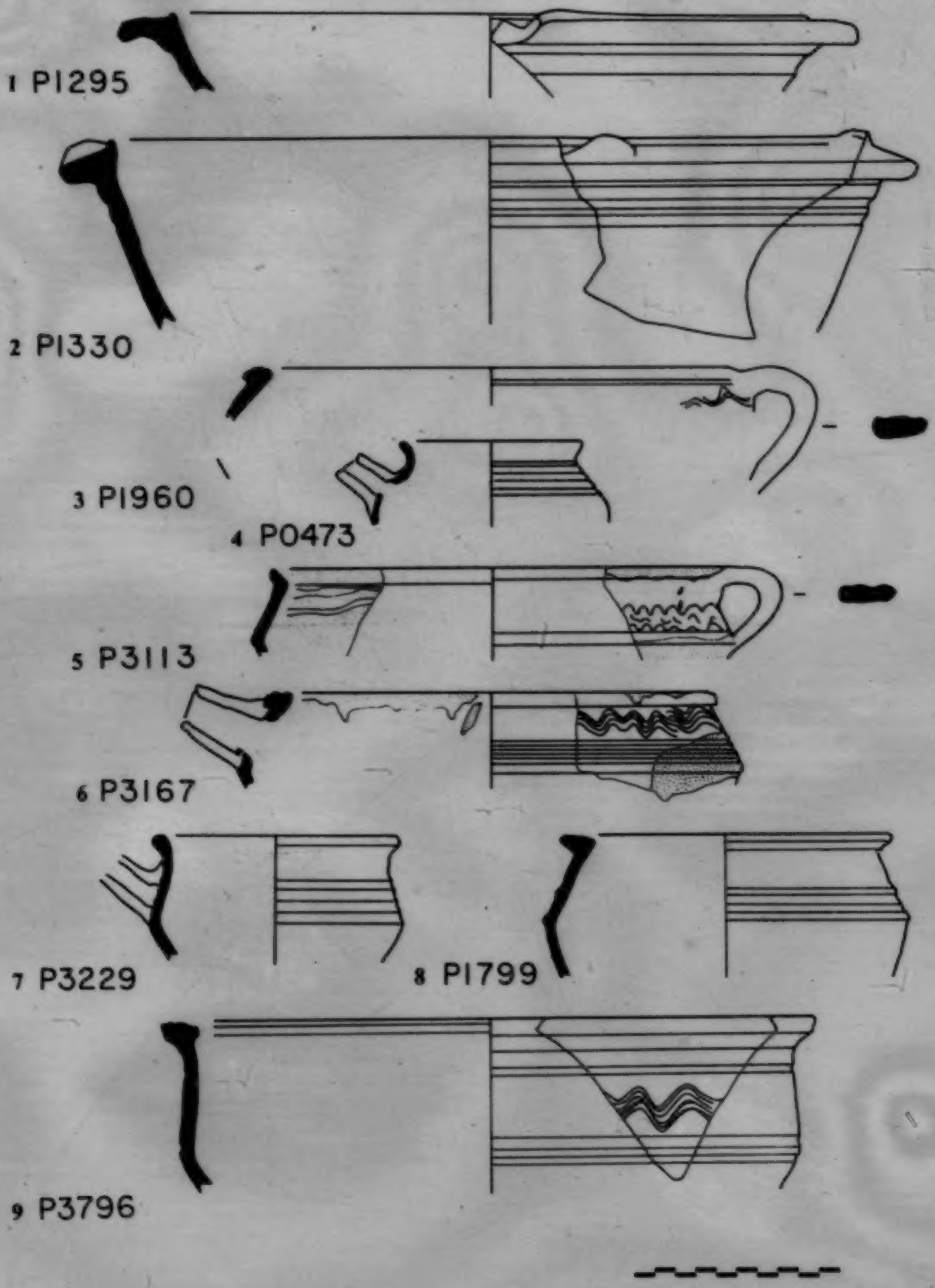
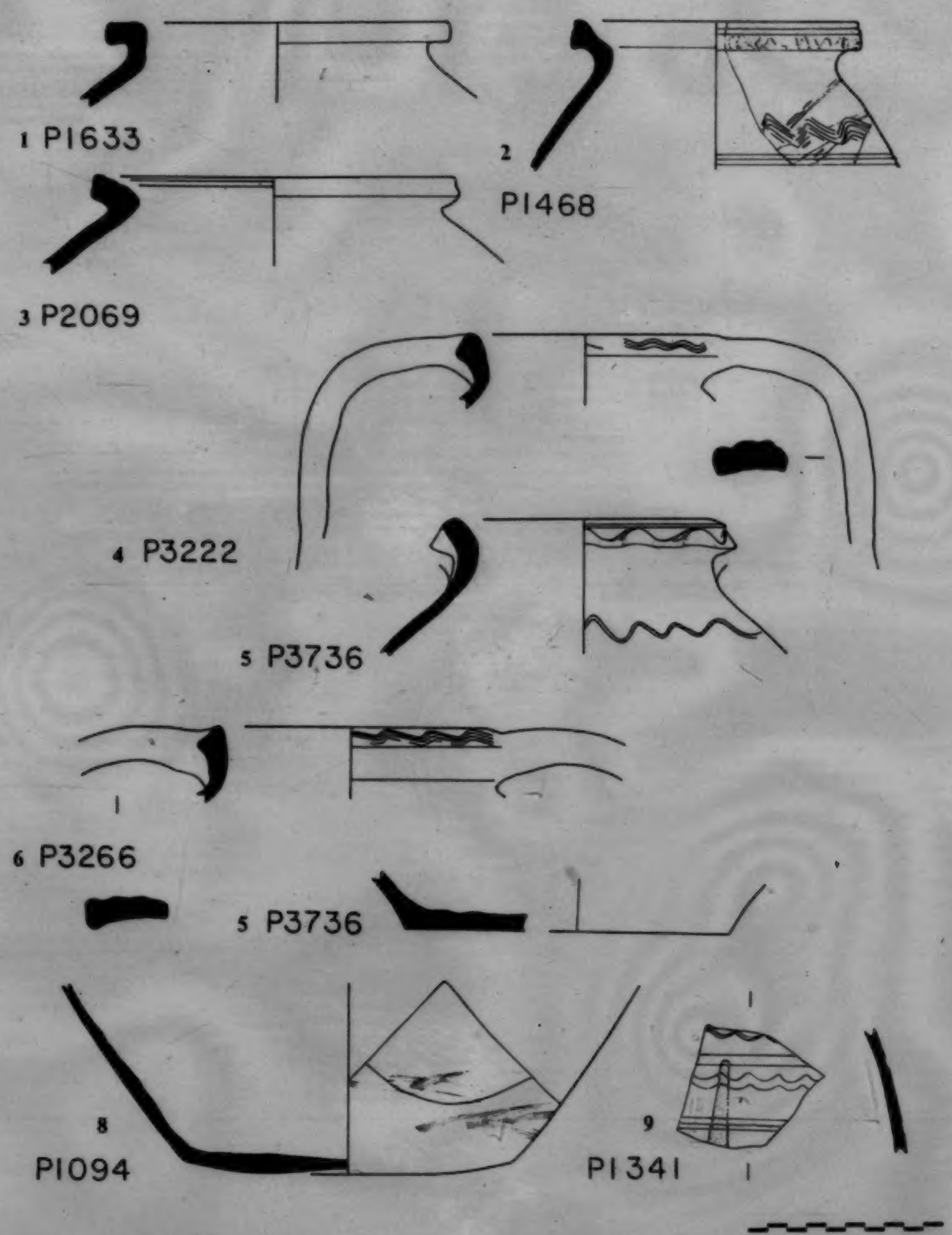

1 P1295
2 P1330
3 P1960
4 P0473
5 P3113
6 P3167
7 P3229
8 P1799
9 P3796

Plate 14. Painted Common Ware. SG Form 44, Mortarium (1-2); SG Form 45, Wide-Mouthed Spouted Bowl with Carinated Wall (3-9)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2
P1468
3 P2069
4 P3222
5 P3736
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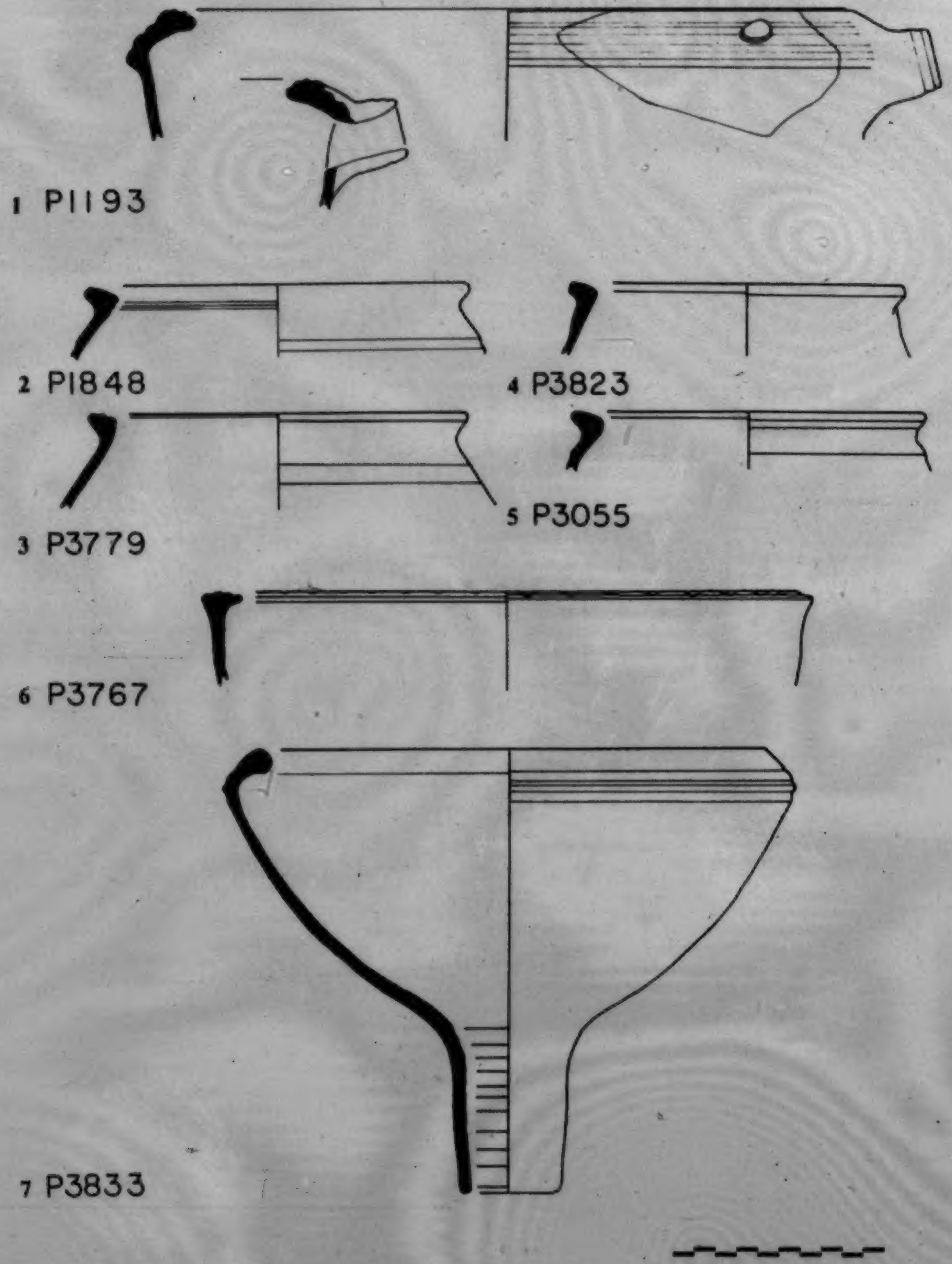
5 P3736
8
P1094
9
P1341

Plate 15. Painted Common Ware. Heavy Globular Pots, SG Forms 41 (1), 48 (2), 49 (3), 51 (4 and 6) and 51 Variant (5); Large Base of Uncertain Form (7); Stick-Drawn Decoration (8)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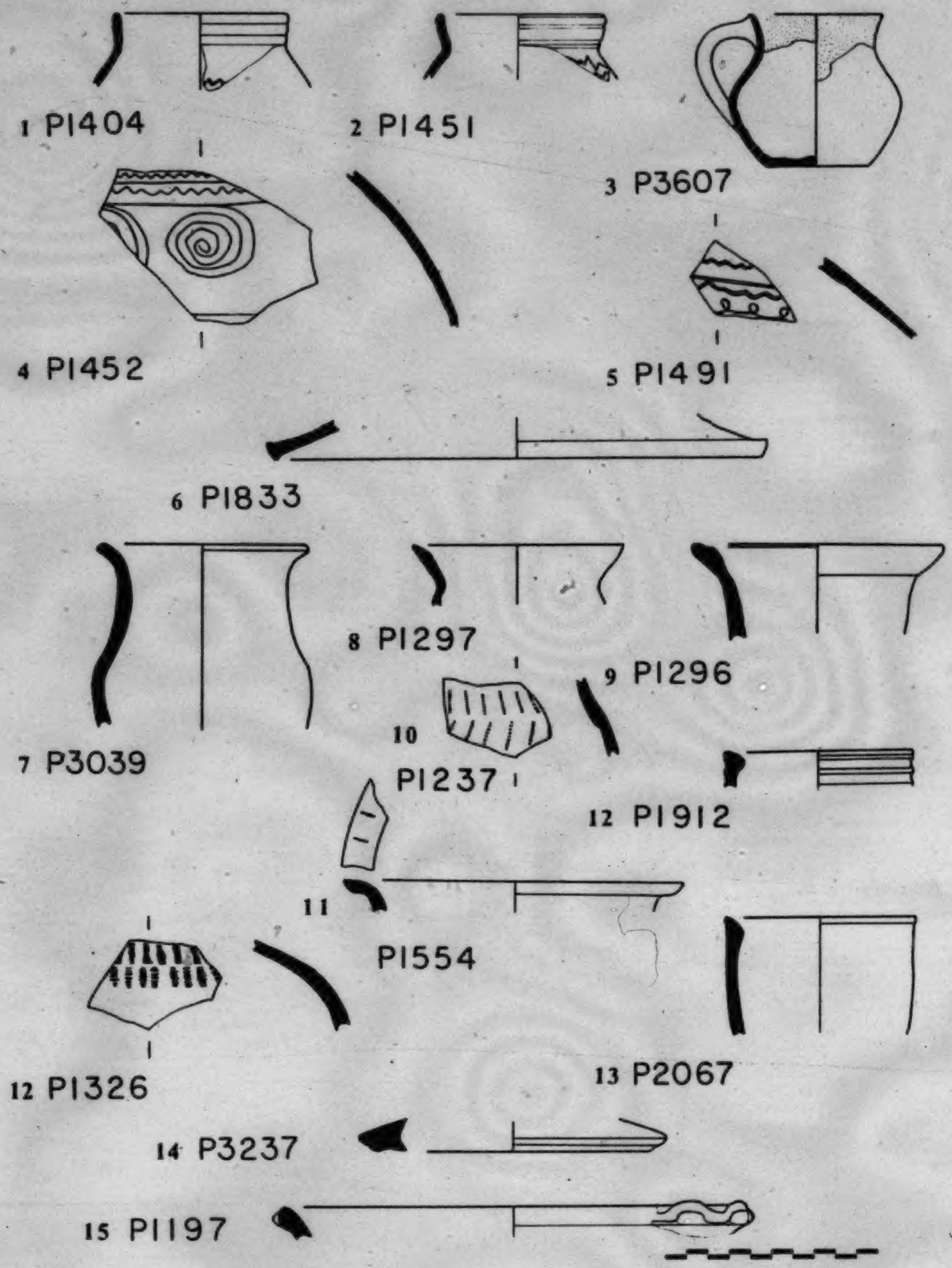
6 P3767
7 P3833

Plate 16. Painted Common Ware. SG Form 46, Pseudo-Flanged Spouted Bowl (1); Form 47, Wide-Mouthed Pot with Triangular Rim (2-5); Form 50, Wide-Mouthed Jar with Triangular Rim (6); Form 53, Funnel (7)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6 P1833
7 P3039
8 P1297
9 P1296
10 P1237
11 P1554
12 P1912
12 P1326
13 P2067
14 P3237
15 P1197

Plate 17. Painted Common Ware. SG Miscellaneous Form 61 (1-3); Incised Decoration (4-5); Form 62 (6); Form 63 (7-9); Stabbed Combing (10 and 12); Form 64 (11); Form 65 (12-13); Form 66 (14); Form 67 (15)

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